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**LAHORE AND SOME OF ITS
HISTORICAL MONUMENTS.**

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A SHORT HISTORY OF LAHORE.

1. In mythology, Lahawar or Lahore was the city of Loh, one of the two sons of Rama, the hero of the epic of the Ramayana. In tradition, it was the seat of a Rajput dynasty, of whom one Kanekson migrated to Rajputana and was the founder of the solar line of Central India. One of its gateways, the Bhati Gate, recalls to-day the name of a Rajput tribe connected with Jaisalmere. But India is singularly deficient in documented history until the era of the Muslim invasions, and our earliest fixed date in the history of Lahore is that of an unsuccessful attack on the town in 664 A.D. by one of the expeditions sent to India through Sind by the early Khalifs of Baghdad. The Arabic historian of the expedition calls the city Alahwár. It finds a mention in the writings of the great traveller Al-Idrisi of Morocco, who in the ninth century A.D. refers to it as Lohawar, or the Fort of Loh; in the Muslim writings of the fourteenth century its name settles down definitely as Lahâr, Lohâr or Lohér.* It is doubtful whether the old Hindu town of

* The suffix *Awar* with its derivatives *Awar* and *Ore* means a fort. Loh is, as a matter of fact, a common enough affix; there is a Lahore in Afghanistan, in Peshawar and Kashmir.

Lahore occupied the site of the present city ; scholars now incline to think that it stood on the site of a vast graveyard known as Bhairoka-asthan close to the suburb of Mozang ; an earlier theory was that it was at Ichhra, a large village close to the present city, but nearer to the Ravi bank. It may be fairly accepted that it was the seat of a Rajput principality about the first or second century after Christ ; but it does not appear to have been of great importance at the time. No city of the name appears in the writings of the historians of Alexander ; and there are those who doubt whether the Brahminical city which that invaluable authority on the geography of India in the seventh century, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, saw on his way from Sangla to Jullundur in 630 A. D., was really Lahore. It seems to have risen to some importance about the ninth century A.D. as the capital of a Brahman dynasty, whose territory was in the tenth century invaded by Sabuktagin and his son Mahmud. From this point it has a definite place in the recorded history of northern India. Sabuktagin, the Turki slave and general of the last of the Samani Kings of Bokhara, succeeded his father-in-law Alaptagin in 977 A.D., and after annexing Kandahar,

crossed the Indus to invade the kingdom of Lahore, then ruled by the Brahman prince Jaypal. They met near Peshawar; the Hindus were "scattered like ants and locusts," and Jaypal had to ransom his kingdom. Sabuktagin returned again in the following year to enforce the promised payment; there was again a great slaughter of Hindus, and the Turki took possession of all the country on his side of the Indus.

2. On Sabuktagin's death in 997, his kingdom was divided, and his son Mahmud took over Ghazni, with which his name is always associated. Sabuktagin had shown that the door to India was open, and Mahmud took care that his rivals should not precede him in the quest for plunder. He marched down in 1001 A.D. to the attack on Jaypal, and gained an easy victory over him. His terms, far more humiliating than those which his father had cared to exact, drove Jaypal to abdicate in favour of his son Anangpal, and to sacrifice himself on a funeral pyre. Mahmud left a Muslim governor at Lahore; he subsequently returned to conquer Multan, but does not seem to have arranged for any permanent garrison in the Punjab. At this point the history of Lahore comes more closely into touch with

that of the Hindu States further south. Anangpal in 1008 formed a combination of the Rajas of Ajmere and the surrounding States; they marched to Peshawar, and after nearly succeeding in defeating Mahmud as the result of a fierce charge by the Ghakkars, were finally beaten off by the Turki horsemen. Anangpal was succeeded by Jaypal II; his attempt at rebellion was met by the sack of Lahore and the permanent occupation of the city by Mahmud's forces, and the Turki King now formally annexed the northern Punjab as part of the kingdom of Ghazni (1002 A.D.). The Hindu principality was finally extinguished, and the occupation of Lahore was the first beginning of the future Muslim empire of India. The history of the foundation of that empire is not merely the story of plunder or occupation by hungry freebooters from across the frontier; it reflects the reaction of the frontier peoples to the pressure of the great tribal movements taking place in the vast background of Central Asia. The Ghaznavid successors of Mahmud were ousted from their kingdom by the incursion of Seljuk Tartars, who under Togral Beg and Alp Arslan had established their hold over the country between the

Euphrates and the Jaxartes; and as a consequence they removed the seat of their government to Lahore. From about 1098 it became the real capital of the Ghaznavid dynasty. It was known as Mahmudpur, and this name was inscribed on the coins struck at Lahore by the Ghaznavid kings.

3. The next chapter in its history is a short one. It is concerned with the efforts made by the Tartars to oust the descendants of Sabuktagin from Lahore, as they had ousted them from Ghazni. The Ghaznavid representative at Lahore was Khusru Malik, and he was twice attacked by the celebrated Shahab-ud-Din, surnamed Muhammad Ghori, the second on the roll of the founders of the Muslim Empire in India. Khusru twice beat him back, but in 1187 was overcome by stratagem, and with his death the dynasty of Mahmud was extinguished, and Lahore was occupied by the Tartars.

4. Events now bring on the scene many names with which we are familiar in the history of Delhi. Shahab-ud-Din's first act was to attack Prithi Raj, the head of the Chuhan Rajputs, celebrated in story as the last of the Hindu kings of Delhi. Defeated at Narain in the Karnal District,

Shahab-ud-Din retired to Lahore, and seven times did Prithi Raj and his Hindu confederacy pursue their attack to the gates of Lahore itself. It is in connection with the defeat at Narain, that tradition relates the well-known story of the revenge taken by Shahab-ud-Din on the nobles who had fled from the battlefield. He compelled them to walk round the city of Ghor, with the nosebags of their chargers fastened round their necks, and gave them the option of eating the contents of the nosebags or of having their heads struck off with the sabre. It was not until 1193 that Shahab-ud-Din finally succeeded in defeating and killing Prithi Raj. In the meanwhile, there had been a period of anarchy in the Punjab, in which the Ghakkars overran part of the country, and even captured Lahore. They were strong enough to make a direct attack on Shahab-ud-Din, and in 1206 rushed his camp by night, and killed him. On his death his slave general Kutb-ud-Din Aibak, the Viceroy of Northern India, mounted the throne at Lahore. It was Kutb-ud-Din who built the Kutab Minar, the great tower of victory near Delhi; and there too he built the first mosque in India. He held his capital actually at Lahore, and died there in 1210, as a

result of a fall from his horse while playing the game of Chougan or polo.* His grave in the city of Lahore may still be seen, perhaps the earliest Muh ammadan tomb to be found in India.

5. For nearly two centuries Lahore was held by representatives of the Slave dynasty founded by Kutb-ud-Din, and of the Khilji, Tughlak, Sayad and Lodi dynasties which succeeded it. Throughout this period the centre of power was Delhi rather than Lahore, and the Punjab was held by the viceroys of the Delhi kings. But though Lahore thus became of secondary importance to Delhi, it was Lahore rather than Delhi which took the chief place in the events most characteristic of the period, the increasing incursions of the Moghuls, who were eventually to sweep away the remains of the Seljuk and Pathan Kingdoms in India. History is so full of the splendours of the Moghul Empire in the fullness of its power, that we are apt to forget the long series of attacks which were

* Polo originated in Central Asia and only became a recognized game in India itself in the nineteenth century. The word is derived from 'pulu,' the Thibetan name for the bamboo root from which the ball was (and still is) made. There is a description of the game by Abu Fazl, the historian of Akbar; he remarks that "casual observers consider it mere play; men of exalted views see in it a means of learning promptitude and decision" Those who have heard some players will further agree that the game "reveals concealed talents."

repelled by the generals of the Delhi Kings before the descendants of Timur and Babar were able to establish the Moghul rule. We perhaps forget also, in contemplating the genius of Babar and his successors, that the earlier Moghul invaders appeared to Muslims and Hindus alike as men from outside the pale of civilization, "dog-faced infidels" of hideous form, without morals or religion or humanity. In 1218 an army sent by Temuchin or Ching-sze, called in history Jengiz Khan,* who organized the vast pastoral hordes from the shores of the Caspian to the borders of China, entered India by Sind and overran Multan and the country around Lahore, but was not able to effect a stay of any duration in India. In 1241 a band of Moghuls from Khorasan penetrated as far as Lahore, and drove the Viceroy back to Delhi; but in 1266 the Wazir of Lahore, a relation of the slave King Altamash, whose grave is close to the Kutab Minar at Delhi, beat them back no less than three times, and even carried an invasion as far as Ghazni. His successor Muhammad Shahid built a fort at Lahore as a protection against the Moghul

* This is the name adopted from Muslim historians. Actually Teragai, the father of Timur (1336 - 1405) appears to have been the first convert of his tribe to Islam.

attacks, and his Court at Lahore was celebrated as the resort of poets, including Amir Khusru, the reputed father of Urdu literature. He himself was killed in action against the Moghuls. They again attacked Lahore in the time of Muzaffar Khan, the Viceroy of Ala-ud-Din, the Khilji King, who built the celebrated archway at Delhi. A large number of prisoners taken by him was settled in the suburb of Moghulpura, which is now the site of the railway workshops. Ala-ud-Din seems to have had unusual success against the Moghuls, for in 1305 he pursued them to Kabul and Ghazni; but their incursions continued throughout the reign of the kings of the Toghlak dynasty founded by the Turki slave Ghias-ud-Din Toghlak, whose tomb stands outside the gate of Toghlakabad. The long series of attacks resulted in great loss to the city; twice at least there is a record of its lying desolate and being rebuilt. It was in the reign of Mahmud Toghlak, the last of Ghias-ud-Din's line, that Timur invaded the Punjab. The invasion, though on a larger scale than many of those which preceded it, was nevertheless not made with the definite purpose of occupation. He crossed the Indus in 1398, and before

proceeding to Delhi, pillaged the Punjab and Multan. Lahore escaped destruction by the timely submission of its viceroy ; but a heavy ransom was levied, and on his return to Turkestan Timur left an officer at Lahore in token of his titular suzerainty of Hindustan.

6. The city takes little place in history during the reign of Sayad kings of Delhi (1412—1450), save for the fact that the dominion of Lahore was for a time severed from that of Delhi owing to the refusal of Bahlol, the Lodi viceroy of Lahore, to accept the domination of the Delhi sovereign. Bahlol, however, eventually supplanted the last Sayad King of Delhi, and Lahore was thus re-united to Delhi. It was during the reign of his grandson Sultan Ibrahim, that the governor of Lahore, disgusted at orders received from the Court of Delhi, addressed an invitation to the Moghul Babar, then reigning at Kabul, to repair to Hindustan. His action was not unnatural, for the Kabul king still maintained his titular claim to the sovereignty of India ; the Delhi sovereigns were no longer the powerful fighters who had once driven back the Moghul hordes, and the country had fallen into disorder and anarchy. But the results of Daulat Khan's invitation were

more far-reaching than he could by any stretch of imagination have foreseen. From the first Babar had dreamed of repeating the exploits of Timur, but his ambition was for conquest and occupation, not merely for plunder. When he approached Lahore in 1524, he was joined by Daulat Khan, but there were still adherents of the Delhi King who opposed him, and their defeat was followed by the plunder and burning of the city. Affairs at Kabul prevented Babar from giving his undivided attention to the conquest of the Punjab ; it required some four expeditions before he had it completely in his power ; the last took him to Panipat, where in 1526 he defeated Ibrahim Lodi and captured Delhi. He did not afterwards leave India, and died at Agra in 1530. His memoirs show the difficulty he encountered in overcoming the reluctance of his followers, bred among the green hills and picturesque streams of Farghana, to face the prospect of a prolonged association with what he himself describes as a most unpleasant people and an uninviting country.*

* "The country and towns are extremely ugly. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of free conversation or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention, no skill or knowledge in architecture," and much more of the same uncomplimentary nature. --(*Babar's Memoirs*).

But he prevailed with them, and the first city which benefited by the Moghul occupation was Lahore. It was of course some years before their dominion was firmly established. Humayun, who succeeded on Babar's death, had to yield to the revolt of his brother Kamran,* and to confirm him as sovereign of the Punjab. The temporary success of the great Afghan general Sher Shah Sur (who built the beautiful mosque in Indrapat near Delhi) drove Humayun himself from India in 1540. Sher Shah remained in possession of Lahore for some years, and paid much attention to the city, connecting Multan and Lahore by a road. It was not until 1555 that Humayun was able to return to India; he re-occupied Lahore in that year, and went on to Delhi, to meet his death by accident in Indrapat in 1556.

7. His son Akbar, then only about 14 years of age, was actually proclaimed at Kalanor in the Gurdaspur district of the Punjab, and proceeded at once to Lahore. For the greater part of his reign, it was his capital; and save for absence due to

*The remains of the Bāradari of Mirza Kamran stand on the right bank of the Ravi; it is the earliest building of the Moghul period in Lahore.

military operations, he hardly left it for any prolonged period till he set out for Delhi and the Deccan in 1599. He built the wall round the main bazaar, part of which still stands; rebuilt the Fort* on the site of the old citadel, and placed his palace in it; he founded a mint, and made the city the chief repository for his ordnance stores. He encouraged the nobles of his Court to build houses and to embellish the city with gardens. In his reign Lahore attained its period of greatest brilliance. The poets Urfi, Faizi and Abul Fazl celebrated the glories of his Court; "it was," says Abul Fazl, "the grand resort of people of all nations." Men of learning flocked from all over India to take part in the strange religious discussions which have troubled so deeply the Muslim historians of Akbar's reign. His tolerance gave the Hindu of the Punjab a prominence in the life of the capital equal to that of the Muslim nobles. Todar Mal, a Khatri of Chunian, was in charge of his finances; Raja Bhagwan Das and his son Man Singh were successively Commanders-in-Chief of his forces. It was not a policy which always commended

* For a note on the Fort see page 76.

itself to his Muslim entourage ; we have a chronogram which the poet Al Badaoni compiled to give the date of Todar Mal's death :—

“ I asked the date of his death from the old man
of intellect ;
Gladly replied the wise old man : he is gone
to hell.”

His liberality in religion was as little popular with the Muslims as his sympathy with Hindus. The poet Mulla Sheri described his master's aberrations in a well-known quatrain :—

“ I cannot repress laughter at the following
couplet which on account of its novelty
Will be recited at the tables of the rich and
continually read by the beggar ;
The King this year has laid claims to be a
prophet ;
After the lapse of a year, please God, he will
become the Deity.”

The annoyance probably reached its height when he invited the Jesuit fathers from Goa to Lahore ; they described it as a delightful city, and duly praised the splendours of his Court and its 5,000 elephants ; but their hopes of a conversion were dashed when they saw him worship the sun, and witnessed his daily appearance before a multitude which fell prostrate before him
“ as a God. ”

8. This brilliant period of Lahore's history ended when Akbar left the city for Delhi and the Deccan in the forty-third year of his reign, seven years before his death in 1606. The peace which it had enjoyed so long was broken soon after the accession of his son Jehangir. Khusru, the eldest son of Jehangir, broke into open rebellion, and laid siege to the city. He was defeated by the Imperial forces near Jullundur, and brought to Lahore, where 700 of his followers were impaled alive by his father (who had now reached the Punjab from Agra) in the suburb known as Naulakha. The Emperor, seated in a royal pavilion built for the purpose, "watched the culprits die slowly in excruciating agony." But Khusru's revolt has another and more important interest. It first brought the Imperial administration into open conflict with the Sikhs. The first four Gurus* had established their name as religious teachers, and as such had more than once come to the notice of the Emperors. Nanak, who was so little opposed to Islam that the Muslims of Kartarpur put forward a claim to the right of burying him, had been received

* The early Gurus were Hindu ascetics or reformers of the Khatri caste; they were Nanak, died 1538; Angad, died 1552; Amar Das, died 1574; and Ram Das, died 1581.

by Babar; Ram Das, the founder of Amritsar, had been accorded a small gift of land by Akbar; but it is clear that up to this time the Imperial Court had not seen in the growing strength of their following any danger to peace or a menace to constituted authority. But if the first four Gurus had been ascetics and fakirs, the fifth, Guru Arjan, had ambitions of a less spiritual nature; he kept a numerous retinue, and attempted to give a definite communal organization to Sikhism. The Governor of Lahore clearly felt some apprehension of a community which was daily gaining fresh adherents at Amritsar, and when it appeared that Khusru had sought Arjan's benediction, Jehangir was moved to take notice of the movement. Here as elsewhere, we owe much to that monarch's frank autobiography. "I found," he says, "that Arjan had made numbers of stupid Hindus, nay, even foolish and ignorant Muslims, captives of his will, and had the drum of sanctity loudly beaten. Disciples flocked around him; they had been practising this mendacity for three or four generations. The idea struck me several times to put an end to this trickery or to make the Guru a convert to Islam." He

made Khusru's action the excuse for confiscating all the Guru's property, and placed him in a confinement which resulted in his death (1606). His tomb is immediately outside the gate of the Fort at Lahore. The Guru's martyrdom served only to stimulate his followers into greater activity, and Sikhism gradually began to assume its aspect of a militant organization, bitterly opposed to Islam and perpetually gaining in strength from the persecution which it earned at the hands of Muslim Governors. Open opposition was indeed for a time deferred ; Har Gobind, the successor of Arjan, actually served in Jehangir's army, though he subsequently fell into disgrace and was imprisoned for 12 years at Gwalior. Open conflicts with the royal troops did not begin till the reign of Shah Jehan, when Har Gobind, released from prison by the Emperor, established himself in the jungles of Bhatinda, and from this base began his marauding excursions into the Punjab.

9. Jehangir soon left Lahore for Agra, and did not again hold his Court there for some fourteen years. He clearly valued it chiefly for the hunting grounds which it provided, " truly worthy of Kings " as he says ; he built at Sheikhupura a hunting-box which

he termed "highly pleasant and attractive." Lahore was a convenient halt on the road to his beloved Kashmir, and he marked the stages of his progress from Agra to the hills by erecting at every league of the journey the *Kos minars* or minarets of which many may still be seen on the old Agra-Lahore road. He added the State rooms and garden known as Jehangir's Quadrangle to the Fort, and also erected Anarkali's tomb.* It was on his return from Kashmir in 1628 that he was seized with a fatal illness; and his body was taken to Lahore to be buried in the garden of his consort Nur Jehán. The great mausoleum at Shahdara† was erected over his remains by his son Shah Jehán.

10. During Jehangir's reign the city, though no longer an Imperial capital, had received many additions from the munificence and architectural skill of his viceroy, Asif Khan; it was further to gain much by the interest which Shah Jehán showed towards it. He had been born at Lahore in 1592, and retained an especial attachment for his birthplace. He visited it soon after his accession (1628), and it was charac-

* For the Anarkali tomb see page 72.

† See page 93.

teristic of this great builder of palaces that his first act was to direct the rebuilding of the State apartments in the Fort. He ordered the sleeping rooms to be reconstructed, and he dismantled and rebuilt the Shah Burj or Royal tower erected by Jehangir. He entirely reconstructed the hunting-box built by the latter at Sheikhupura. Three years afterwards he again visited the city, observing the usual ceremony of throwing gold and silver to the crowd as his procession took its way through the streets ; the vast suite of tents made in Kashmir for the Royal camp took two months to pitch. The tomb of Jehangir at Shahdara was completed some three years after Shah Jehán's succession. Stimulated by the architectural enthusiasm of the Emperor, Wazir Khan, the first of Shah Jehán's viceroys, Ali Mardan, his successor,* and other high officers " added numerous private edifices of great beauty to the city." The mosque of Wazir Khan, that of Dai Anga, the wet nurse of Shah Jehán, the tombs of Asaf Khan and Ali Mardan, and the Chauburji gateway of the Princess Zebunissa's garden on the Multan road belong to this period, and contain some of the best examples of the Kháshi

*The gateway of his tomb, known as the Chintgarh is $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Lahore on the Amritsar road.

or faience and tile decoration which characterized it.* “But the sight of wonder” says Sir G. Birdwood, “is when travelling over the plains of India or Persia, suddenly to come upon an encaustic tiled mosque. It is coloured all over in yellow, green, blue, and other hues, and as a distant view of it is caught at sunrise, its stately domes and glittering minarets seem made of the purest gold, like glass, enamelled in azure and green, a fairy like apparition of inexpressible grace and the most enchanting splendour.” Lahore occupies a place of much importance in the history of this type of decoration. In the latter part of his reign Shah Jehán’s interest in architecture was chiefly exercised in the construction of Shah-jehanabad, the present city of Delhi, but he started at Lahore the famous Royal factory for carpets and shawls ; more important still, he ordered Ali Mardan Khan to construct a canal from the Ravi in order to water the gardens of Lahore. We have here the origin of the Upper Bari Doab Canal, with its headworks at Madhopur, constructed by our Engineers in the years 1856—1860. Ali Mardan’s channel was ready when Shah

* See for some details the note in paragraph 12 of page 89 dealing with decorations in the Fort. For Wazir Khan’s mosque see page 105, for Asaf Khan’s tomb page 99, for the Chauburji page 75.

Jehán visited Lahore again in 1633, and the Emperor celebrated the arrival of its waters in the city by ordering the construction of a “ spacious garden, with chambers, baths, reservoirs and fountains.” This garden, which we know now as the Shalamar garden,* was begun at once, and Shah Jehán himself arranged for the transport of fruit trees for it from Kabul and Kandahar. The Emperor twice again visited Lahore in the course of his long reign, and in 1638 assisted at the burial of Nur Jehán, the widow of Jehangir, whose mausoleum is close to that of Jehangir at Shahdara. She† was the sister of the famous Wazir Asaf Khan (whose tomb is also at Shahdara),§ who was himself the father of Mumtaz Mahal, the favourite wife of Shah Jehán. A woman of equal beauty and talent, she had been the one great influence in the life of the sporting and convivial Jehangir. “ Never,” he writes, “ did I know what happiness was until I married her.” For the rest, it is only necessary to note that twice during Shah Jehán’s reign the conduct of the Sikhs had brought them into contact with the Imperial troops. On both occasions the

* For the Shalamar garden see page 101.

† For Nur Jehan’s family and tomb see pages 99—101.

§ For Asaf Khan’s tomb see page 99.

conflicts were due to the marauding propensities of Har Gobind's followers; and on both occasions the Sikhs beat off the attacks made on them.

11. If Lahore had neither the same political importance nor the same social brilliance as it had attained in the age of Akbar, it was probably during the time of Shah Jehán that it reached its greatest size and population. It is difficult at the present day to determine what was the real extent of the town at the period; we have only the vague assurance of Indian writers that of the thirty-six quarters into which it was formerly divided only nine are included within the limits of the present city. We know at all events that in Sikh times, large numbers of buildings in the environs of Lahore were demolished for the construction of cantonments and parade grounds for the troops. William Finch, who came in 1611, describes it as one of the greatest cities of the East, the town and suburb being "some six miles thorow" and the streets "faire and well paved"; Steele and Crowthier, who saw it in 1615, speak of it as a "goodlie city," and a vast market for trade with Central Asia; the eccentric Tom Coryat (1615) found in it "one of the largest Cities in

the whole Universe, for it containeth at the least sixteen miles in compasse, and exceedeth Constantinople itself in greatness." But one of the most interesting accounts of Lahore in the time of Shah Jehán is that of the Spanish monk Fra Sabastian Manrique, who saw it in 1641. He gives it the second place in the Moghul Empire, and writes of its long streets of palaces and the great wealth of its bazaars "equal to the richest European mart." Tavernier, the French jewel merchant, who was in Lahore between 1641 and 1648, speaks of the main town as about three miles in length ; but his account is not so full as that of the Spanish monk. Indeed, its chief interest for him is perhaps revealed in the feeling record of the fact that "one can obtain wine in Lahore." Niccolao Manucci, who saw it somewhat later (1672), speaks of its many great and rich merchants dealing with the whole of India, its fine gardens and excellent fruit, and remarks on the excellence of its air, "as may be seen from the complexion of its inhabitants, who are of ruddy colour inclining to whiteness." It is possible that many of the thirty-six "quarters" in which the town was said to be divided comprised

the suburb areas ; but we know that some of these, such as Moghulpura, were populous and of great wealth. It is said that Ahmad Shah, on his first invasion, satisfied his soldiers by the sack of this quarter, and was content to spare the city itself. The Mohalla Dai Lado, the Lakhi Mohalla and the Mohalla Zen Khan were other suburbs of which we hear much, but have now disappeared. The story of the life of the Saint Mian Mir* left by Dara Shikoh would seem to show that the population of the city in his time extended up to the present cantonment, and that the village of Hashampura or Mian Mir was treated practically as part of Lahore.

12. Shah Jehán did not die till 1666, but his son Aurangzeb, engaged with his three brothers in the fight for succession to the throne, held him prisoner from 1658. Lahore took its part in this fratricidal contest for

* Lahore Cantonment was till recently known as the Cantonment of Mian Mir, and was so named from the tomb of Mullan Shah or Mian Mir near the present Moghulpura station. Mian Mir was born in Seistan in 1550, and died in Lahore in 16'5, his prolonged age being said to be due to his habit of suspending his breath. He breathed only twice in the day and once in the night. Jehangir held him in great reverence, though when on one occasion he asked him if he could do anything for him, the only request preferred by the saint was that the Emperor would save him the trouble of coming to see him again. Shah Jehan took the hint, and paid visits to the saint instead of inviting him to the Fort. His tomb was built by Dara Shikoh, the brother of Aurangzeb, but the marble and costly stones were rifled by Ranjit Singh.

the crown, for Dara Shikoh (the most high-spirited and generous of the brothers) after his defeat by Aurangzeb near Agra, marched to Lahore and seized the Royal Treasury. On the approach of Aurangzeb, he was deserted by his Punjab allies, and fled to Multan. Aurangzeb held his court at Lahore in 1659, and again in the following year, receiving here the envoys of the Kings of Persia, Balkh, Bokhara and Kashgar. He twice again visited the city on his journeys to Kashmir (on one of which, that of 1664, he was accompanied to Lahore by the French traveller Bernier), but for the greater part of his reign he was engaged in the subjugation of the Deccan. It was characteristic of the religious temperament which gives him so unenviable a reputation among Hindu historians, that his most important contribution to the buildings of the city was the Bádshahi Mosque,* built for him by Fidai Khan, his Master of the Ordnance, in 1674.

13. The earlier years of Aurangzeb's reign saw but little movement on the part of the Sikhs; Har Rai, the successor of Har Gobind, was of a less ambitious character than his two predecessors, and Harkishen,

* For a note on the Bádshahi Mosque see page 72.

the 8th Guru, died in boyhood (1664). But under the 9th Guru, Tegh Bahadur, the Sikhs once again became an anxiety to the Imperial governors. After living the life of a recluse in Behar for six years, Tegh Bahadur returned to the Punjab about 1670, and commenced a series of marauding incursions in the country between Hansi and the Sutlej. The success which he attained gave a great impetus to the Sikh movement; converts grew rapidly in numbers, and the plunder amassed by the Guru served to add a material proof of the value of his religious teachings. The administration of Aurangzeb was of a more efficient type than that of his good-natured predecessor. Tegh Bahadur was captured, and executed at Delhi in 1675. But the Sikh religion had always made its greatest advance under persecution; and Tegh Bahadur's son, Guru Gobind, who became the 10th Guru, now found all the material to hand for forging the community into a militant and combative unit. He cut himself adrift from most of the associations which still bound the Sikh to Hinduism. The new army of the "Khalsa" was to be without caste; the thread of the Brahman was to be broken; its devotion was not to be to the Hindu gods, but to the

sacred symbols which henceforth were to distinguish the Sikhs as a separate people. Rigid rules of life were prescribed, all leading to the maintenance of the physical vigour and religious fervour necessary to sustain the fight with a tyrannous and persecuting Islam. Forces quickly gathered round Gobind; he built forts along the skirts of the hills between the Sutlej and the Jumna; he lent assistance to the hill Rajas who were in revolt against the Imperial officers, and joined with them in defeating the local governor. Aurangzeb was forced to send an expedition against him in 1701, of a strength which he found it impossible to resist. His two minor sons were captured and killed; his two elder sons slain in fight before his eyes; and he was hunted into the wastes of Bhatinda, the old refuge of Guru Har Gobind. But the fidelity of his followers stood the strain; he returned to collect a force of 12,000 men and won a great victory over the Muslim governor of Sirhind at Muktsar. To-day, the Sikh who bathes in the Muktsar tank still believes that he obtains salvation. It is curious, but characteristic of the East, that this defeat was not followed by any fresh action on the part of the Imperial officers. Gobind retired to

the Malwa, and confined himself to the task of increasing the number of his disciples; towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign, he was actually on the point of accepting an invitation to visit the Court at Delhi, and was only prevented by the news of the Emperor's death in 1707.

14. With that event, Lahore's place of honour in the Moghul Empire came definitely to an end. The line of great Emperors was finished; and Lahore no longer saw their Court on its way to Kashmir, or provided a basis of operations for attacks on the Afghan frontier or the hill Rajas. As the Court at Delhi weakened, the viceroys of Lahore assumed a position of even greater independence, and the Sikhs in the growing disintegration of authority redoubled their attacks on the peace and order of the province. Theirs was no longer an effort to spread the doctrines of their sect or to propagate the practices of their religion; the movement was now one for the definite conquest of territory at the expense of the Muslim governors. Bahadur Shah, the son of Aurangzeb, was at Kabul when his father died; he marched at once to Lahore, which recognized him as Emperor (1707). But he had to proceed to Delhi

to defeat his brothers, and meanwhile the Sikhs under one Banda, a Byragi fakir of great courage, but of a vindictive and barbarous character, overran the greater part of Sirhind and Saharanpur. They are said to have assembled forces of over 70,000 men, and though checked at Rahon in Jullundur, succeeded in plundering as far as the walls of Lahore. Bahadur Shah relieved the situation by a march to the city; but the growing menace was too much for the pacific and amiable Emperor, and he felt the position so insecure that he formally transferred his capital from Lahore to Delhi (1711). He died in the following year.

15. Bahadur Shah's death was followed by the usual struggle for succession; and four sons fought out the matter in a series of conflicts at Lahore itself. There were "eighty cartloads of silver rupees" awaiting the victor in the Fort treasury,—a fact which perhaps accounts for the keen share taken in the fighting by a number of Punjab Hindu Rajas. The records of the Dutch mission headed by John Joseph Ketaalar, then at Lahore, give an interesting account of the anarchy and confusion which reigned in the city during the contest. Pillage and murder reigned supreme, and the ambassador

records daily scenes of disgusting barbarity. The victory of Jahandar Shah (1712) was followed by his assassination of most of the other princes of the blood Royal then in Lahore. His subsequent career at Delhi was brief; he had to yield to an attack by his nephew Farrukhsiyar (1713), and it is a sign of the growing degeneracy of the times, that while the late monarch was strangled, many of his supporters were massacred with every circumstance of public indignity. But it is not necessary to follow here the rapid changes or recurrent horrors which marked the pitiful decline of the Moghul dynasty at Delhi. The renewed activity of the Sikhs which, as might be expected, followed on the struggles of the claimants for the Delhi throne, found on this occasion (1715) a governor at Lahore who was marked by unusual energy and resource. Abdul Samad Khan surrounded Banda and his followers at Lohgarh, large numbers were captured, and some 2,000 publicly executed at Lahore. Banda and 700 others were taken to Delhi and executed there with every mark of ignominy. Banda was forced to cut the throat of his own son; he was then torn to pieces with hot irons, and the Muslim account adds that "his sable spirit then took its

flight to the regions of the damned for which it was so well fitted." The retribution was hardly excessive ; he was of the worst type of fanatic Sikh ; his men had laid waste whole districts so effectually that they had to be recolonized ; mosques and tombs were razed to the ground, and Hindu and Muslim peasantry alike suffered from his predatory zeal.

16. For some twenty-one years (1717—1738) Lahore and the Punjab had comparative peace ; it then had to face trouble from another quarter. Invasions from the North, forgotten in the long security of the Moghul rule, were not at an end. In 1738 the Turkoman Nadir Shah, who had assisted one of the last of the Safvis, Thamasps, to regain the throne of Persia, and had finally succeeded him in 1736, set out for Afghanistan with an army of 125,000 horsemen—Kazilbachis, Georgians, Turks and Khorasanis. Having absorbed the Afghan kingdom, he pursued his way to India, and in December captured Lahore. He spared it on payment of a heavy tribute, and it was saved from the fate of Delhi, where the general massacre of January 1739 became a bye-word in Indian history. He returned with plunder which

has been estimated at from eight to thirty million pounds in value, and passing by Lahore, stopped to collect the remainder of the crore of rupees which constituted the ransom of the city. Engaged henceforth in his effort to consolidate the Persian rule as far as the Oxus, he did not again visit India. His retirement left the field open once more to the Sikhs, and a large body plundered Emina-bad and endeavoured to approach Lahore (1746). They met with an unexpected resistance; large numbers were captured and once more there were mass executions of Sikhs at Lahore, where the Shahidganj Gurdwara still commemorates their slaughter.

17. Two years afterwards the Punjab saw yet another invasion from the North. Ahmad Shah, an Abdali of Herat (the Abdalis on some point of superstition changed their tribal name to Durrani, by which Ahmad Shah was subsequently known), had, on the death of Nadir Shah, succeeded in getting himself recognized as king of Kandahar. He speedily reduced Kabul and Peshawar (1748), and fired by the example of Nadir Shah—though his resources were far inferior to those of the great Persian King—crossed the Indus at the head of 12,000

Durrani horsemen. The resistance offered at Lahore was feeble ; he plundered Moghulpura, and took a heavy contribution from the city. Checked on his approach to Delhi by the Imperial general Mir Mannu (who was thereon created Viceroy of Lahore), he returned to the Punjab, and thence to Kandahar. But in 1752 he returned ; Mir Mannu stood a siege of nearly four months, but was at length obliged to yield Lahore, and to pay a ransom of half a crore of rupees. Ahmad Shah reinstated him as Viceroy of Lahore, and formally annexed the province to the Durrani kingdom. An attempt of the well-known Ghazi-ud-Din, the Delhi Wazir, to restore the titular authority of the Delhi Emperor over Lahore, brought Ahmad Shah back again from Kabul in 1755. Lahore was occupied without opposition, and Ahmad Shah went on to devastate Delhi and Muttra. This time the Durrani, before returning with his fresh load of booty across the Indus, left his son Tymur Shah as Viceroy of Lahore and Governor of the provinces east of the Indus. Tymur's difficulties lay rather with the Sikhs than with the representatives of the Delhi King. Twice during the viceroyalty of Mir Mannu their depredations had

brought them close to Lahore, and once at least they had come into definite conflict with his troops. They now found an ally in Adina Beg, who had been sent from Delhi to regain Lahore for the Emperor, and to that end was endeavouring to establish himself in the Jullundur Doab. His assistance lent increased vigour to the Sikhs, now banded under the leadership of Jassa Kalal, a carpenter. Tymur Shah had but a small Durrani garrison, but with this he attacked and levelled the Ram Roumi, their stronghold at Amritsar, filled up the sacred tank and defiled their *gur-dwara*. But he was dealing with a people who were rapidly becoming a nation, and whose fanaticism had seldom failed to respond to a direct attack on their religion. They collected in strength alike from the Manjha and the Malwa ; the small Durrani forces were worsted in several encounters near Lahore ; Tymur's Punjab allies deserted him, and he and his Wazir found it prudent to evacuate the city and retire beyond the Chenab (1758). For the first time the Sikhs occupied Lahore, and from what had once been the Imperial mint, rupees were issued in the name of Jassa, the carpenter, as leader of the *Khalsa*. They had owed

much to the efforts of the wily strategist Adina Beg ; but fate seems to have ordained that the Sikhs should invariably be blinded by folly in the hour of their success. They refused to stand to their compact with Adina Beg and expelled his agent from Lahore ; but they failed to reckon on the resources still left to that shrewd and experienced diplomatist. He conjured up yet another invader on the scene. The Mahrattas were now at Delhi, summoned there by the Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din to oust the Rohilla chief, who had been installed by the Abdali as his agent. Adina Beg offered them allowances on a scale which might well have been arranged by the compiler of a modern Accounts code ; one lakh of rupees a day for a march and half a lakh a day for a halt. Their generals Ragho Nath Rao and Malhar Rao marched on Lahore with a rapidity which justified the conditions of his bargain ; and late in 1758, overcoming the resistance of such Durrani troops as Tymur Shah could spare, they entered Lahore. Adina Beg was once more in power in the Punjab, this time as agent of the Mahrattas ; and the prophecy of Sivaji, that his countrymen should water their horses at the same time in the

Hughli and the Indus, had come near to fulfilment.

18. Adina Beg's viceroyalty lasted for a bare twelve-month, though it was long enough to allow him to inflict something of a crushing blow on his former Sikh allies. He died in 1758, and the hold of his Mahratta masters on the Punjab lasted but little longer. The Mahratta occupation of Lahore brought Ahmad Shah once more down from Kabul, and in 1759 he drove them out of the Punjab. But he did not stop at this ; there was a larger task awaiting him. The Mahratta invasions had never meant anything but misrule and misery for the territories which they conquered, and the Abdali found many invitations for his assistance in relieving Hindustan of their alien rule. He marched down to Delhi ; defeated the Mahrattas at preliminary encounters at Badli, just outside Delhi, and Sikandra ; and once more compensated himself for his efforts by the plunder of Delhi. The Mahrattas, threatened with a collapse of their power in Hindustan, collected their resources for a supreme effort ; they summoned the Jats and the chiefs of Rajputana to sustain the cause of the Hindu against the Muslim ; and once

more, and for the last time, the issue of Hindu and Muslim supremacy was fought out on the plain of Panipat (1761). The triumph of the Durrani forces on that day sealed the fate of the Mahratta confederation. The failure of the Sikhs to honour their engagement with Adina Beg had brought far-reaching consequences to the history of India.

19. The Durrani had triumphed over the Mahrattas ; Delhi had long ceased to be in a position to offer him any resistance ; but the Sikhs were still capable of an opposition with which he found it increasingly difficult to deal, with which indeed he finally found himself unable to deal. He had destroyed all vestiges of the Imperial rule, and there was no one but himself who could counter their activities. But his own seat of government was at Kabul, and he had not resources sufficient to enable him permanently to occupy the Punjab. During his absence at Panipat, the Sikhs had assembled at Amritsar, and formed a confederacy of a more regular type than they had hitherto attempted, with an attack on Lahore for its objective. They pillaged its suburbs and had to be bought off by the Durrani's agent. Forced to return for a time to Kabul after his victory

at Panipat, Ahmad Shah came down again to India in the following year (1762) to regulate affairs with the Sikhs, and defeated them in a pitched battle at Kot Rahira. But the restoration of his authority was brief, for he was unable to forego his annual visit to Kabul, and in 1763 they sacked Kasur and razed Sirhind to the ground. The power of the confederacy was steadily growing, and at the best the authority of the Durrani Governor now hardly extended beyond Lahore itself. When Ahmad Shah returned in 1764, he found himself unable to bring the Sikhs to a pitched engagement, and on his return to Kabul, they occupied Lahore and ejected his governor. The city was handed over to a triumvirate of Sikh governors, belonging to the Bhangi *Misl* or clan. The confederacy held a meeting in Amritsar and by a decree of the Khalsa proclaimed their sect as sovereign in the Punjab and their religion as supreme. But though the chapter was closing, it had not yet ended. Ahmad Shah made his final descent into the Punjab in 1767, and the Sikh confederacy retired from Lahore. Ahmad Shah however was war weary; he was already suffering from the cancer which was soon to cause his end; nor could he find an agent fitted to

take charge of the province. He was obliged to adopt a policy of conciliation where the use of force was no longer open to him ; he confirmed many of the Sirdars in possession of the areas held by them, and the Bhangi chief Lahna Singh was formally allowed by him to retain possession of Lahore. He then retired to Kabul, where he died in 1773.

20. The Sikh confederacy now held practically the whole of the central and eastern Punjab and a portion of Multan. If they could be said to have a headquarters, it was at Amritsar, where the units which formed their somewhat loose confederacy held an annual meeting. Divided into a large number of *Misls* or clans, each clan had its own chief and held authority in the area in which it had succeeded in establishing itself, though these areas were continually changing as the clans, which for the most part were constantly at warfare with each other, increased or declined in strength. The *Misl* was not tribal, save in so far as it may have had a nucleus in one leading family and its connections ; it embraced as a rule large numbers of men of different families and castes brought together by the common

purpose of conquest or plunder. It could hardly be said that there was any one system of government, save such as was afforded by the decisions or compromises at the annual meeting at Amritsar, nor any one system of law, save such as could be evolved out of the religious writings of the Gurus. Other sects were treated with the utmost harshness; cultivators and traders were grossly oppressed; mosques were razed to the ground or defiled; and large numbers of Muslims sought protection in British territory beyond the Sutlej. While such was the general nature of the Sikh tenure of the Punjab—it could hardly be described as government—in the period between the retirement of Ahmad Shah and the establishment of Ranjit Singh's monarchy, Lahore seems for some thirty years to have enjoyed tolerable quiet as the headquarters of the Bhangi *Misl*. But the peace was broken when Shah Zaman, the grandson of Ahmad Shah, led a force of some thirty thousand horsemen into the Punjab (1797). The Bhangis hurriedly retired from Lahore, but Shah Zaman was obliged to return at once to deal with a revolt of his brothers in Kabul, and contented himself with taking a tribute of 30

lakhs from the few remaining men of wealth in Lahore. He re-appeared in the following year, but his visit was equally short, and is chiefly memorable for the fact that he made to Ranjit Singh, the young and aspiring chief of the Sukerchakia *Misl*, a formal grant of the city of Lahore.

21. The history of the Sukerchakia *Misl* is so typical of that of the clans which made up the Sikh confederacy, as to justify a record of its origin and progress. The reputed ancestor was one Kalu Jat, who lived an obscure life in the jungles of Pindi Bhattian late in the 15th century. A succession of cattle thieves brings the family tree down to Kiddoh, who succeeded in acquiring a little land in Sukerchak near Gujranwala in 1555; agriculture, shop-keeping and petty brigandage formed the occupations of his immediate descendants until one Budha, attracted to the new religion, took the Sikh *pahal* or baptism in 1692. He was not however a pietist, but a cateran of courage and renown, and acquired a considerable property in Sukerchak by the sale of cattle stolen in the Jhelum and Ravi riverain. His son Nodh Singh (about 1716) brought the family fortunes a stage further forward by

exchanging the trade of cattle thief for the more lucrative profession of highway robber. He found many victims during the first invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali; the proceeds were carefully amassed, and he became the recognised chief of Sukerchak, connected by marriage with both the Sindhianwala and Majithia families, now rising by somewhat similar methods to a prominent position in Sikh society. These, however, were efforts of individuals; it was left for Charat Singh (about 1752) to prove the value of combined action and to found a clan. Moving to Raja Sansi near Amritsar, he collected a band of *Mazhbis*, *Sansis* and other wandering robbers, and took possession of a large number of villages near Gujranwala. He now ranked as a Sardar and proceeded to unite with one Amir Singh of Gujranwala, the grandson of a *Sansi*, who had had a somewhat longer career of marauding behind him, to found the Sukerchakia *Misl*. Together they began the building of a mud fort at Gujranwala; plundered Eminabad; raided the camp of Ahmad Shah (whose officers in return levelled the mud fort to the ground); sacked Wazirabad and seized Rohtas, and forced the Muslim governor of Pind Dadan Khan.

to ransom the town. Charat Singh was killed in 1774 while engaged on a filibustering expedition in the Jammu territory. He had gone far ; he left property worth three lakhs a year, and had further strengthened the position of his family by marrying his son Maha Singh into the house of the Sardar of Jhind. The Sukerchakia chieftains bred strong stock. Maha Singh speedily wrested Rasulnagar from the Chhattas, — a Muslim tribe which had in its custody the famous Zamzama gun* of Ahmad Shah, handed to them in deposit by Jhanda Singh Bhangi. This brought him into conflict with the chiefs of the Bhangi *Misl*, with whom he had become connected by marriage. Their power had already been broken by Tymur Shah ; Maha Singh determined that the next step in the progress of his own family should be secured by their downfall. In that he did not entirely succeed ; but in the fighting of the next few years, he found full scope for his spirit of enterprise and for his energy in the collection of plunder. It is held somewhat to his discredit that he murdered his mother in a fit of passion, but he retrieved any loss of reputation on that account by his success in sacking the town of Jammu ; it is a tribute

* For a note on the Zamzama Gun see page 107.

to his foresight that he married his young son Ranjit Singh into the family of a rising competitor, the Kanhia Sardar ; and it was a fitting crown to his career that he died of delirium tremens (1792). Ranjit was only 12 years old when this untoward event occurred, but the *Misl* was held together by the diplomacy of his mother-in-law Sada Kaur, who on the death of the Kanhia Sardar in 1793 secured for him the entire control of the Kanhia clan. At the age of 17, he was recognized as Sardar, and unwilling that he should fall below the traditions set by an energetic and determined father, celebrated his majority by killing his mother with his own hand as punishment for an act of infidelity with a Brahman servant. The early years of his career coincided with the two incursions of Shah Zaman, but his ambitions did not lead him to advance his position by espousing the national cause against the Durrani. On the contrary, he utilized the latter's preoccupation in Lahore to annex what he could of the estates of those Sardars who had fled from the Shah's approach ; and sought favour with Shah Zaman himself by recovering and sending to Kabul eight of his guns which had fallen into the Jhelum. It was in return for this service that the Shah

sent him a formal grant of the sovereignty of Lahore. The gift in the circumstances had little more validity than those papal bulls which assigned to the Spaniards the dominion of South America ; but it was admirably exploited by Sada Kaur and Ranjit. The Muslim inhabitants of Lahore were deeply incensed with the conduct of the drunken triumvirate of Bhangi governors, and invited Ranjit to occupy the city. This was effected by a characteristic act of strategy, and he expelled the Bhangis in 1799. For the next forty years the fortunes of Lahore are bound up with those of Ranjit Singh.

22. It is impossible to detail here the stages by which he established his position as undisputed monarch of the Punjab. But the initial steps are of interest in the history of Lahore. He was at once faced by a combination of the neighbouring *Misls*, now seriously alarmed at the growth of his power ; but after a series of determined skirmishes in the suburbs of the city, the confederation broke up when its leader Golab Singh Bhangi died of drink, an ending to which the Sikh Sardars of this period were singularly prone. From this point onwards until the death of Ranjit, Lahore saw no

disturbance of its peace. In 1800 he held a Durbar of those whose subjection he had so far secured, and decreed that he should be known as "Sarkar." The actual sphere of his authority did not extend far beyond what are now the Lahore and Gujranwala districts; Kasur was still held strongly by Pathan immigrants; Amritsar was in the somewhat weak hands of the Bhangis; Multan was held by a Saddozai who claimed relationship with Ahmad Shah Abdali; the Western Punjab was held by Afghan usurpers, or the descendants of older Muslim rulers such as the Sials or Daudpotras; the Jullundur Doab was in the hands of the Ahluwalia Sardar,* and Patiala, Nabha and Jhind in those of the Phulkian

* The ancestor of the Kapurthala reigning house. It is asserted that the Kapurthala family are descended from one Rana Kapur, a Rajput from Jesalmir, but they are first known in history in the person of Sadao Singh Kalal who founded the village of Ahlu, from which the family takes its name of Ahluwalia. The first name of any real importance is that of Jassa Singh (died 1783, who founded a *Misl* and made very considerable conquests in the Jullundur Doab; he was fully the equal of the Patiala Chief of the day and the most powerful of the Sirdars north of the Sutlej, besides acquiring great religious influence. His successor Sirdar Fateh Singh was at first a close ally of Ranjit Singh; unlike the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs he did not come under the protection of the British by the treaty of 1809 and found it politic to take part in Ranjit's campaigns up to about 1822, but came to an open breach in 1825 when he claimed but was refused British protection save in so far as regarded the lands held by him Cis-Sutlej. He continued at Kapurthala under sufferance from Ranjit Singh. Sirdar Nihal Singh played a doubtful part during the first Sikh War, and his Cis-Sutlej estates were confiscated; he was confirmed as Sirdar of the area in the Jullundur Doab. His attitude in the second Sikh War was beyond cavil, and he was made a Raja in 1849; considerable additions of territory were granted to the State for services in the Mutiny of 1857.

Chiefs;* the territories Trans and Cis-Sutlej were held by Sikh Sardars who were either independent or closely connected with the *Misls* from which they had sprung. Peshawar and Attock were still with the Wazirs of Kabul. From 1801 to 1820 the history of Ranjit Singh was one of incessant fighting to secure his position or to extend his territories, but it is a history in which Lahore itself bears little part. He reduced Amritsar in 1802; seized Ludhiana and part of the Cis-Sutlej area in 1806; secured Kasur in 1807, and Kangra in 1809; took Attock from the Kabul Wazir in 1813; captured Multan and Peshawar five years

* The Phulkian States are Patiala, Nabha and Jhind. The ruling houses descend from a common ancestor, Phul, a Sidhu Jat. The family first acquired something more than local prominence when Humayun made one Bariam, the headman of an area south-west of Delhi, in 1554. The next name of importance is that of Phul (died 1652) who received a grant of five villages from Shah Jehan. As regards the three States the rulers of (a) Patiala are descended from his second son Rama. The actual founder of the State may be said to be Ala Singh, who conquered large areas between Bhatinda and Sirhind, and though defeated by Ahmad Shah Durrani was afterwards recognized by him as Raja (1762). Had not his strong grandson Amar Singh died in 1781, Patiala might have occupied in the Punjab the place subsequently taken by Ranjit Singh; as it was, only the intervention of the British in 1809 (page 48) saved Patiala and the other Cis-Sutlej Chiefs from absorption in the Lahore kingdom. (b) The Jhind family is descended from Trilokha, the eldest son of Phul. The State as such dates from his grandson Gajpat Singh (died 1789), who seized a number of villages in the vicinity of Jhind and Safidon, and obtained a *firman* from the Delhi Court in 1768 with the title of Raja. Like Patiala, the Jhind State was saved from absorption in the Lahore kingdom by the treaty of 1809. (c) The Nabha rulers are like those of Jhind descended from Trilokha, eldest son of Phul. The town of Nabha was founded by Hamir Singh in 1755; the existence of an independent State may be said to date from Jaswant Singh who first used the title of Raja: he accepted the protection of the British in 1808 and died in 1840.

later, and in 1819 he finally extended his dominion over Kashmir. His progress was not without check, for he encountered vigorous resistance both at Kasur and Multan, and his armies were twice repulsed from the passes into Kashmir ; but the only permanent set-back which he had to face was the insistence of the British on his retiring from his possessions across the Sutlej. The Cis-Sutlej chiefs had claimed British protection soon after the battle of Delhi (1805), and Ranjit Singh had proposed to Lord Lake that the Sutlej should be taken as the boundary of his territory. He subsequently crossed it and seized parts of the Ambala and Karnal districts ; General Ochterlony was directed in 1809 to move to Ludhiana in order to unite with the Sirhind chiefs, and Sir C. Metcalfe was at the same time sent to Lahore to endeavour to negotiate a treaty with Ranjit Singh. He appears to have at first contemplated an attack on the British, but convinced by Metcalfe that the latter were in earnest, finally accepted a treaty by which he resigned all claims to the lands south of the Sutlej (April 1809). It is said that he was materially assisted to this conclusion by witnessing the discipline displayed by Metcalfe's escort of Hindustani

sepoys when attacked by a large band of fanatical Akalis at Gobindgarh near Amritsar. He observed this treaty with complete loyalty, even in the difficult days which led to the Afghan campaign of 1838.

23. With the growth of Ranjit's power, the fallen fortunes of Lahore began to revive. In the early days of his reign it presented but a shadow of its former high estate. An English officer who visited the city in 1809 spoke of it as "a melancholy spectacle of former grandeur. Here the lofty dwellings and Masjids which once raised their tops to the skies and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust. On going over those ruins I saw not a human being ; all was silence, solitude and gloom. " The account perhaps has some of the exaggeration which the period loved, but it is confirmed by what the travellers Moorcroft and Lt. Burnes, the envoy to Ranjit's Court, wrote a few years later. The latter refers to the mosques and tombs, once part of the town but now deserted in the midst of fields, and the streets " narrow and offensively filthy," which exhibited no appearance of wealth. If little was done in Ranjit Singh's reign to restore its buildings, yet the population

must have greatly increased and trade to some extent revived. It had contributed greatly to Ranjit's success that he substituted organized troops for the fanatic and ill-disciplined rabble which constituted the fighting force of the earlier confederacy, and throughout his reign he maintained a strong standing army at Lahore. His conquests did not end with the acquisition of territory ; true to type, he always exacted the maximum of plunder,* and much of this evaded the Royal receivers and found its way to the bazars of the city. He complained that he had succeeded in recovering booty worth only five lakhs of rupees from the sack of Multan, though the army was said to have seized goods worth over two million sterling. His Court never equalled the brilliance of that of Akbar or Shah Jehán, with its crowd of ambassadors and nobles, scholars and men of letters ; but there was a continual stream of feudatories bearing the tribute which he vigorously exacted, or anxious neighbours seeking by propitiatory gifts to evade the incursions he was known to contemplate. From time to time the city witnessed gatherings almost

* Captain Osborne (Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh, 1846) says that the treasury at Amritsar contained 12 millions in gold in 1839.

rivalling the Durbars of the Empire, such as that which celebrated the installation of Prince Kharak Singh as heir in 1816, or the marriage of Nau Nihal Singh in 1837, at which the British Commander-in-Chief Sir Henry Fane was one of the chief guests. But for the city itself Ranjit Singh did little. There is a record of his repairing the walls of the fort, and of building a moat, and of including the mosque of Aurangzeb within the area of the Fort defences. He took some interest in the garden of Shalamar, built a *báradari* between the palace and the Juma Masjid, and made additions to the Samadhs of Guru Arjan Mal and of the Sikhs who were executed in the Shahidganj by Mian Mannu. With this exception there is hardly a building of any note which can be referred to his reign, and many of the monuments left by his Moghul predecessors were demolished to embellish the Sikh shrine at Amritsar.

24. Ranjit Singh had suffered from a paralytic stroke in 1835, but recovered under the care of Dr. Macgregor of Ludhiana. He had a second stroke in 1837, the effects of which lasted for six months. He refused to take warning from these attacks, and the unusual excesses in which he indulged.

during Lord Auckland's visit to Ferozepore in 1838 must have helped to produce the third stroke, from which he died in 1839. He presents a figure of extraordinary interest, difficult to estimate by European standards. Victor Jacquemont, a French traveller who was for some time at his Court, described him as a "Napoleon in miniature"; but if he had Napoleon's fire and vigour, and some of his coarseness of fibre, he had little of his constructive ability. His rule was purely personal, and he made no effort to found an administrative regime which promised any of the elements of stability. His personality never failed to impress European observers. Captain Osborne, who visited him in 1838, speaks of "the ceaseless rapidity with which his questions flow; they embrace an infinite variety of subjects." He described his appearance as follows:—

"Cross-legged in a golden chair, dressed in simple white, wearing no ornaments but a single string of enormous pearls round the waist and the celebrated Koh-i-noor or 'mountain of light' on his arm—the jewel rivalled, if not surpassed in brilliancy by the glance of fire which every now and then shot from his single eye as it wandered rest-

lessly round the circle, sat the ‘Lion of the Punjab.’”

25. One may add, if only for the sake of the picturesque, an observer’s record of the scene which followed his death :—

“The Maharaja’s body, having been bathed with the Ganges waters, dressed in rich clothes and decorated with ornaments, was placed on an adorned sandalwood bier in shape like a ship. It was wrought with gold and the sails and flags were made of the richest silk. The bier was carried by a number of men in procession to the garden at Dhoolkote situated in the Fort, near the Huzuri gate, adjoining the Guru Arjan’s residence. Several notable men of the kingdom threw costly shawls on the bier. Rani Koondun, daughter of Raja Sansar Chand of Katoch, Rani Hurderee, daughter of the Raja of Nurpur, Rani Raj Kour, daughter of Sirdar Jai Singh of Chynpur and Rani Baawallee came out of the harem and approached the corpse and resolved to burn themselves with their husband.* For the first time during their lives these Ranis came out unveiled with richest apparel and jewels worth

* *Sati* had been rendered illegal in British India by Lord Bentinck in 1829.

many lakhs of rupees on their person and accompanied the procession bestowing every now and then some portion of their jewels and ornaments to the singers and the Brahmins. In front of each Rani, at a distance of two or three paces, walked a man with his face turned towards her and moving backwards. He held a mirror before the Rani in front of whom he walked, that she might see that her features were unaltered and that her resolution to sacrifice her life had no effect on her appearance. After the Ranis followed seven slave-girls. All seemed quite indifferent to the awful fate which awaited them, and which, indeed, they had themselves sought.

“The drums beat mournfully, the musicians sang melancholy dirges and the sound of their instruments spread gloom throughout the whole assembly. At last the bier reached the funeral pile. It was constructed of sandalwood and alœ in the form of a square, six feet high. The ascent to the pile was by means of a ladder. On the pile were strewed inflammable substances, such as cotton seeds, etc. The high officers of the State first ascended the pile and helped in gently removing the royal body from the bier and respectfully placing

it in the middle of the pile. Rani Koondun sat down by the side of the corpse and placed the head of the deceased on her lap, while the other three Ranis with seven slave-girls seated themselves around with every mark of complacency on their countenances. The Minister, Raja Dhian Singh, prepared to burn himself with the Maharaja, and it was with very great difficulty that he was persuaded to refrain from sharing the fate of the *Satees*. Thereupon the Raja proposed to leave the world and go to Benares after a year, which was complied with. Kunwar Kharak Singh also did his utmost to dissuade the *Satees* to relinquish their intention, but they did not heed the appeals of the Kunwar nor of the other Chiefs. Rani Koondun taking Raja Dhian Singh by the hand and placing it on the breast of the corpse made him swear never to be a traitor to Kunwar Kharak Singh. Kharak Singh was, in like manner, made to swear to be led away by no misrepresentations of interested parties to renounce Raja Dhian Singh; and the torment due for the slaughter of a thousand kine were imprecated on him who should violate his oath.

“At 10 o'clock approaching, the time fixed by the Brahmins, fire was set to each

corner of the funeral pile. In a moment the whole mass was a complete blaze, the flames of which ascended to a prodigious height. As the flames shot up, the faces of these devoted women, still calm and serene, were visible for the last time. A moment after smoke and fire enveloped them. In a little while the sacrifice was consummated—the great Maharaja, his four wives and seven slave-girls were a holocaust. A small cloud appeared in the sky over the burning pile and having shed a few drops passed away. Raja Dhiyan Singh attempted four times to jump into the burning pile, but was withheld by the mourning crowd. ” Ranjit Singh’s ashes were placed in a mausoleum outside the gate of the Fort.*

26. With Ranjit Singh’s death the long peace of the city was again broken, and it speedily became the scene of that welter of strife, treachery and assassination which characterized Sikh politics at their worst. The eldest son, Kharak Singh, who resembled his father only in his addiction to opium, had reigned for three months when he was deposed by the late King’s favourite Minister Dhian Singh and the two Sindhianwala Sardars, who murdered

* For Ranjit Singh’s Mausoleum see page 93.

his favourite Chet Singh in his presence. They placed Nau Nihal Singh, Kharak Singh's son, on the throne, but within the year he was killed by the fall of a mass of masonry from an archway in the Hazuri Bagh, as he was returning from his father's funeral (November 1840). There was a brief interregnum, occupied by the efforts of Maharani Chand Kaur, mother of Nau Nihal Singh (who had the assistance of the Sindhianwala Sardars) to make good her position as regent, and of Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, to establish a claim to the throne. Between both parties stood the two Rajput Rajas of Jammu, Dhian Singh, the *ex*-Minister and his brother Gulab Singh, the founder of the present Kashmir ruling house,* who for the moment refrained from openly espousing the cause of either party. Sher Singh gained over the greater part of

* Kashmir had been annexed to the Moghul Empire by Akbar in 1586; in the decline of the Empire it had come under Afghan rule; its Afghan Governors were ousted by Ranjit Singh in 1819. Gulab Singh, who claimed descent from Raja Ranjit Deo, the Rajput ruler of Jammu in the middle of the 18th century, had entered the service of Ranjit Singh as a horseman, and rapidly rose in rank. He was given Jammu as a Jagir, and proving of great use in the conquest of Kashmir, was made Raja of Jammu in 1820. He had brought with him to Ranjit's service his brothers Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh; for these and Hira Singh, son of Dhian Singh see pages 56 to 59. When the Lahore Darbar found itself unable to pay the indemnity fixed in 1846 as the result of the first Sikh war (page 62) the British accepted in quittance the whole of the hill tract between the Beas and the Indus, and handed over Jammu and Kashmir (as part of this tract) to Gulab Singh in return for a payment of 75 lakhs.

the soldiery and for five days bombarded the Fort, where Chand Kaur and her small party were holding out.* No less than 230 guns were brought into action, and successive parties of Akalis made frenzied though unsuccessful attacks on the breaches thus effected. Meanwhile, the city suffered all the horrors of pillage and arson from Sher Singh's troops, now loosed from the discipline which Ranjit Singh had exercised over them. The contest ended with the decision of the two Jammu Rajas to support Sher Singh ; Chand Kaur retired to a jagir, and Gulab Singh removed to Jammu the bulk of the accumulated hoards of Ranjit's treasury (January 1841).

27. The reign of misrule had set in, and Sher Singh was not the man to set things right. In private life a libertine and drunkard, his public life exhibits only one definite achievement—the murder of Mai Chand Kaur. The soldiery were rapidly passing from all control, and the great Sardars foreseeing the general breakdown of government, were preparing to recover the independence of which the strong hand of Ranjit had robbed them. Sher Singh had taken

* For some effects of this bombardment see paragraph 13 on page 91.

Raja Dhian Singh as his minister, and it was inevitable that the two Sindhianwala Sardars (Attar Singh and Lehna Singh) who had fought for Chand Kaur, should hold both King and minister in equal detestation. By an admirably contrived duplicity, they managed to insinuate themselves into the confidence of both, to persuade them that each was plotting against the safety of the other, and that in each case, the only solution was assassination. Ajit Singh, nephew of Attar Singh, murdered the King on 15th September 1843, while Lehna Singh despatched the young heir-apparent (Pertab Singh) ; on the same day they managed to surprise and murder Dhian Singh. But, by an accident which proved unlucky for themselves, they were just too late to surprise Raja Hira Singh, the son of Dhian Singh, whom they had plotted to include in the holocaust. He had considerable influence with the troops, and the vast resources which his uncle Gulab Singh had accumulated were speedily made available for confirming their attachment. With unusual rapidity 40,000 men were collected for an attack on the Sindhianwalas. The latter retired to the Fort, and realizing the weakness of their position, proclaimed the accession of the youngest of Ranjit

Singh's reputed sons, Dalip Singh. His parentage had always been something of a mystery. He was supposed to have been born in 1837, two years before Ranjit's death, but his existence was first announced to a somewhat incredulous world when Dhian Singh was looking for an heir on Nau Nihal Singh's death in 1840. The best that could be said for his parentage is that his mother Mai Jindan was certainly a favourite wife of Ranjit's old age. For a second time within three years, the Fort was subjected to a fierce bombardment at the shortest of ranges. Hira Singh was not only lavish with his money; with something of real artistry he brought down Dhian Singh's widow and her attendant *Satees* to the midst of the troops, and kept them waiting on Dhian Singh's funeral pyre until the heads of his murderers could be laid beside the corpse. The capture of the Fort was speedily achieved; Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh were killed; their heads were taken down to the waiting widow, who now went cheerfully to the pyre with her 13 *Satees*; and the soldiers proceeded to loot the Fort. Little of the accumulated treasure of Ranjit's long reign survived this final pillage.

28. Dalip Singh, before being proclaimed by the Sindhianwala Sardars, had been a nominee of the two Jammu Rajas, and Hira Singh had no difficulty in confirming him on the throne. The stage was now set for the final scene, and the drama moved on rapidly to its inevitable end. For two years Lahore was torn by the intrigues of the queen mother Jindan to place her brother Jowahir Singh in power, and to secure a position for her lover Lal Singh; by the mutual jealousies of Raja Hira Singh and another of his uncles, Suchet Singh; by the pretensions of two other reputed sons of Ranjit, Kashmira Singh and Peshora Singh; by the growing anarchy in the army at Lahore, and by the increasing insubordination of the great Sardars to the orders of the Durbar. Suchet Singh was lured to Lahore and murdered; Kashmira Singh was killed in action; Hira Singh fled from Lahore and was pursued and killed by the emissaries of Jowahir Singh; Jowahir Singh succeeded as Minister, secured the assassination of Peshora Singh, and was in his own turn cut to pieces by the troops. With an empty treasury and broken authority, Mai Jindan and her Council, of which her paramour

Lal Singh was now a prominent member, made their last throw, and endeavoured to secure relief for themselves by distracting the attention of the army to an attack on the British, with all that it promised of plunder in Hindustan. Excuses were easily found, and on the 17th November 1845 the army was set in order to cross the Sutlej. It will be remembered that the territories across the Sutlej had been definitely assigned to the British by the treaty of 1809. The battles at Mudki, Ferozeshah, Aliwal and Sobraon followed in rapid succession; by the end of February the whole of the Sikh forces which had crossed the Sutlej were scattered, and the British army was on its way to Lahore. The treaty of 8th March 1846, signed in the Fort at Lahore, confirmed the British in the possession of the territory south of the Sutlej, and handed over to them the possession of the Jullundur Doab; the Durbar was to pay an indemnity of one and a half millions, and its army was to be restricted in size. A small British force was by agreement left temporarily at Lahore to protect the person of the Maharaja and to assist the Durbar in carrying out the reorganization of its forces, and a Resident.

(Major Henry Lawrence) was appointed to protect British interests. But the destruction of the Army of the Sutlej had still left the Sikhs with large resources; the Durbar was divided in its councils, and the Court was as dissolute in politics as it was in morals. The position of the British Resident and a British force at Lahore was in itself a source of constant irritation, and it was inevitable that before long further trouble must occur. It arose in the rebellion of Mul Raj, the Governor of Multan (April 1848); and the suppression of the rebellion and capture of Multan (January 1849) led in its turn to a great national outburst for the restoration of Khalsa supremacy. The situation did not brook delay, and instant interference was necessary in the interests of British India. Within two months the British victories at Chillianwala and Gujrat had broken the remains of the Sikh power; and the Punjab was annexed in March 1849.

29. Annexation was announced in a Durbar held in the Lahore Fort. The proclamation referred to the frequent breaches of the Treaty of 1846, and the "waging of a fierce and bloody war with the proclaimed purpose of destroying the

British"; it announced that the Governor-General, averse from conquest of territory, had nevertheless been forced to resort to the "entire subjugation of a people whom their own government has long been unable to control, and whom no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship can conciliate to peace". Dalip Singh was deposed, with a pension of five lakhs of rupees; and was in the following year sent to England under the charge of a doctor of the Bengal Army, Sir John Logan, and accompanied by his mother, Maharani Mai Jindan. The Crown property was confiscated, and the Kohinoor diamond* sent as a gift from the East India Company to Queen Victoria. Dalip Singh before leaving India had embraced Christianity, but one feels that the earnestness of Lord Dalhousie's religious convictions must have overcome his

* The Koh-i-noor ("mountain of light") is probably identical with the great stone of Raja Bikramjit of Gwalior, which Babar speaks of seizing in Agra after the battle of Panipat in 1526. "It was valued," he says, "at half the daily expense of the world". It remained in the Royal treasury at Delhi (where it was seen by Tavernier in 1665) until 1739 when it was taken with other plunder to Persia by Nadir Shah. It passed into the possession of Ahmad Shah and his son Tymur, and thence to Tymur's third son Shah Shuja, whom Elphinstone saw wearing it as a bracelet. Shah Shuja, expelled from Kabul by the Barakzais, brought it with him in his flight to Lahore in 1813, when it was extorted from him by Ranjit Singh. When on his deathbed, Ranjit Singh bequeathed it to the temple of Jagannath, but his Treasurer disobeyed orders and it remained with the other Crown jewels. Originally 186 carats in weight, it was reduced by cutting in 1852 to 106 carats; in size it ranks about tenth among the famous diamonds of the world.

prudence, when he permitted the baptism of an uneducated Indian boy of twelve years of age. On Dalip Singh's arrival in England Queen Victoria took the greatest personal interest in his education ; he settled on an estate in Suffolk, but subsequently obtained permission to pay a visit to India. Here his conduct came under some suspicion ; he was baptized as a Sikh, and opened correspondence with certain of the Sardars. Forced to return to Europe, he lived for a time in Egypt and Paris ; by an Austrian wife he had two sons, the Princes Victor and Frederick Dalip Singh. The former married a daughter of the Earl of Coventry and died without issue ; the latter died unmarried in 1926 as a county gentleman of Norfolk, a High Churchman, a keen archæologist and a much respected landlord. Maharani Mai Jindan had died in England in 1863.

30. The subsequent history of Lahore is that of a capital of a British province of ever-growing importance. The Punjab was first entrusted by Lord Dalhousie to a Board of Administration manned by the two great brothers Henry and John Lawrence, with a third and less distinguished member, Charles Mansel. The new Government settled in what is now the

Lower Mall, in the vicinity of the Anarkali bazaar ; the British troops occupied the old barracks of Ranjit's European officered troops, near the present Municipal Gardens ; the tomb of Anarkali was the first church ; the Board's office was in a neighbouring building once occupied by M. Ventura, one of the European officers of Ranjit Singh. It is perhaps in the fitness of things that the Punjab Government still occupies the building whence the Board first administered the Punjab. Three miles of country road led to Government House,* then standing solitary on the outskirts of the town ; the cantonment of Mian Mir, some three miles further off, was built by Sir Charles Napier, when in 1850 it was decided that the Anarkali quarter was too unhealthy for troops. It was no easy task to create a Civil station in the surroundings which the Board inherited from the Sikhs. " The station of Anarkali, " says Sir John Lawrence, " is scattered over an area of several square miles, over which extend the ruins of not one, but several successive cities of various eras and various dynasties. The surface of this extraordinary plain is diversified by mounds, kilns, bricks, stones, broken masses

* For a note on Government House see page 92.

of masonry, decaying structures, hollows, excavations, and all the debris of habitations that have passed away."

31. Differences of opinion between the Lawrence brothers led Lord Dalhousie to move Henry to Oudh and to appoint John Lawrence in sole authority as Chief Commissioner (1853). He was assisted by men carefully selected for an administration which the Governor-General desired to make a model for India; his chief lieutenants were Robert Montgomery, who had been his class-fellow, and Donald Macleod, while the frontier could boast of the epic names of Herbert Edwardes, Abbot and John Nicholson. The work of settlement and civilization was pushed rapidly on; the Bari Doab Canal was taken in hand, and the first railway line between Lahore and Amritsar was begun in 1856. The Great Trunk road from Peshawar to Delhi had been planned as early as 1849. It was pushed on with determination, and though not completed till 1862, proved of the utmost value in the settlement of the province and was of incalculable use during the Mutiny.

32. When Lahore received the famous telegram which announced the arrival of the insurgent Light Cavalry in Delhi on

the morning of the 11th May 1857, the Chief Commissioner was at Rawalpindi. But he had left in Lahore men after his own model and trained in his own school. Robert Montgomery saw that the emergency brooked of no delay ; he at once summoned the leading civil and military officers and proposed that the Indian regiments at Mian Mir should be disarmed. The Brigadier fortunately fell in with his plans. On the evening of the 12th the civil population were collected at a ball and supper, while plans were matured for the fateful parade on the following morning. At daybreak, 3500 Indian troops, manœuvred into face of 300 British soldiers, and confronted with 13 loaded cannon, laid down their arms and were disbanded. It was discovered that the Indian regiments had planned to seize the Fort and magazine in the course of the day ; that it was a concerted plot was proved by the fact that in the afternoon a part of the garrison at Ferozepur broke into mutiny. But Montgomery's courage and foresight had its effect ; elsewhere in the Punjab, Indian regiments were either disbanded, or where they mutinied, were attacked and dispersed with a speed which prevented their joining their comrades in other stations. By the end of

July some 13,000 sepoy had been disarmed ; there remained some 4,500 British troops (including sick) to hold the Punjab and the frontier. But there remained also men whose reputation had attracted the imagination and secured the loyalty of the Punjab. Within a period of four months, eighteen regiments were recruited from the lately conquered Sikhs and from the Mahomedans of the north-west and the border. Seven thousand men were contributed by the Punjab chiefs whom we had saved from the clutches of Ranjit Singh ; 2500 by the ruler to whom we had secured Kashmir. While day by day the slender British force which held the Ridge at Delhi saw the insurgents in the city reinforced by mutinied regiments from the garrisons of the United Provinces, the Punjab stood firm. Regiment after regiment was sent across the Sutlej ; a heavy siege train was prepared at Ferozepur. Not even the fear of invasion from Kabul could break the iron determination of Lawrence to win back Delhi, for it was from the Punjab alone that the British force at Delhi could look for help. The moveable column under Nicholson carried off almost the last of Lawrence's troops ; but it captured Delhi and broke the Mutiny in

northern India. It is a tribute to the high courage of Lawrence and the character of his officers, that the life of Lahore seems to have been little disturbed during this eventful period. The Courts functioned as usual ; the schools remained open ; the civil officers joined the " Anarkali Militia, " but were never called out for service. There is at Lahore to-day an ancient resident who speaks of the unmoved life of the city ; his only recollection of the unusual is the number of troops in training at the old barracks in the Municipal garden, and the occasional sight of a captured rebel blown from the guns.

33. In the seventy years which have followed, Lahore has grown both in size and in prosperity, but its growth has been steady rather than dramatic, for it has little industrial development and has less importance than Amritsar as a centre of distribution and trade. Its expansion is due mainly to its position as an administrative capital, as an important educational centre and, of late years, as the site of large railway workshops. Its University, founded in 1882, attracts large numbers of students ; its Medical and Veterinary Colleges are among the most important in India. The popula-

tion which in 1881 was recorded as 138,000, was in the census of 1921 returned as 257,000, of whom 3,800 were Europeans and 1,180 Anglo-Indians.

Some notes on Principal Buildings, etc.

I. Anarkali's Tomb.—Anarkali ('Pomegranate blossom') was the name given to Nadira Begum, one of the favourites of Akbar. Suspected of an intrigue with Jehangir, she is said to have been buried alive in 1599 by the Emperor's orders; the tomb was erected over the place of her burial by Jehangir in 1615, some 8 years after his accession. The tomb piece, a block of pure marble, bears on one side the name used by the prince before his accession, "the profoundly enamoured Salem, son of Akbar," on the other the couplet—

Ah ! Could I behold the face of my beloved once more
I would thank God until the day of resurrection.

The building was afterwards used as a residence by Prince Kharak Singh and then by M. Ventura, one of Ranjit Singh's European generals; it became the church of St. James after annexation in 1849. It continued to be used as such till 1887, and is now the Records Office of the Punjab Government.

II. The Badshahi Mosque (Juma Masjid).—This, the largest mosque in Lahore, lies immediately to the west of the Fort, from

which it is separated by a garden known as the Hazuri Bagh. The Hazuri Bagh enclosure was made by Aurangzeb, who also built the gateway leading to it from the Fort ; the garden was laid out by Ranjit Singh in 1818, when he built the marble Báradari in the centre ; the material for this was obtained from Muslim tombs in Lahore.

The inscription on the gateway leading to the Mosque shows that the mosque was built in 1674 for Aurangzeb (page 24) by Fidai Khan, Khokah, whom Bernier mentions as the Emperor's master of ordnance. It is said that much of the material used in it had been collected by Dara Shikoh, the brother of Aurangzeb, for the tomb of Mian Mir (page 24). The plan of the Mosque is believed to have been taken from that of Al-Walid at Mecca. Though at first sight having some resemblance to Shah Jehán's mosque at Delhi, it is in many ways inferior to it. Its size is impressive ; but there is a poverty of detail and a lack of proportion ; the colonnades at the side are plain, and the *minars*, now divested of their cupolas, which were so shattered in the earthquake of 1840 that they had to be removed, are of somewhat poor design. The height of each minaret is now 143 feet ;

from the top of any one of the four minarets only three of the four at Shahdara can be seen, and similarly from Shahdara only three of the four in the mosque are visible. The building was turned into a magazine by the Sikhs and considerable apprehension was felt during the bombardment of the Fort by Sher Singh (see page 58) lest a stray shot should explode the five thousand maunds of powder contained in it. Sher Singh posted matchlock men on the minarets in order to command the Fort. During the second bombardment of the Fort following the murders of Sher Singh and Dhian Singh, when the Sindhianwalas were besieged by Hira Singh (see page 59), the latter placed light guns on the summit of the minars. The mosque was restored to the Muhammadans by the British Government in 1856. In the religious world, it derives importance from the fact that there are kept in the upper storey of the archway certain relics of the Prophet Muhammad and some of his successors. They seem to have been acquired originally by Timur after his invasion of Damascus, and brought to India by Babar. They had a somewhat varied history, having been at one time in the possession of the Chhathas of

Rasulnagar, who were conquered by Maha Singh, the father of Ranjit Singh (see page 43), and the relics formed part of the plunder then acquired by him. They thus passed into the possession of Ranjit Singh, and after the death of Sher Singh became the property of Maharani Jindan. After the annexation of the Punjab, they were, through the agency of Fakir Sayad Nuruddin, handed over to the keepers of the Badshahi Mosque.

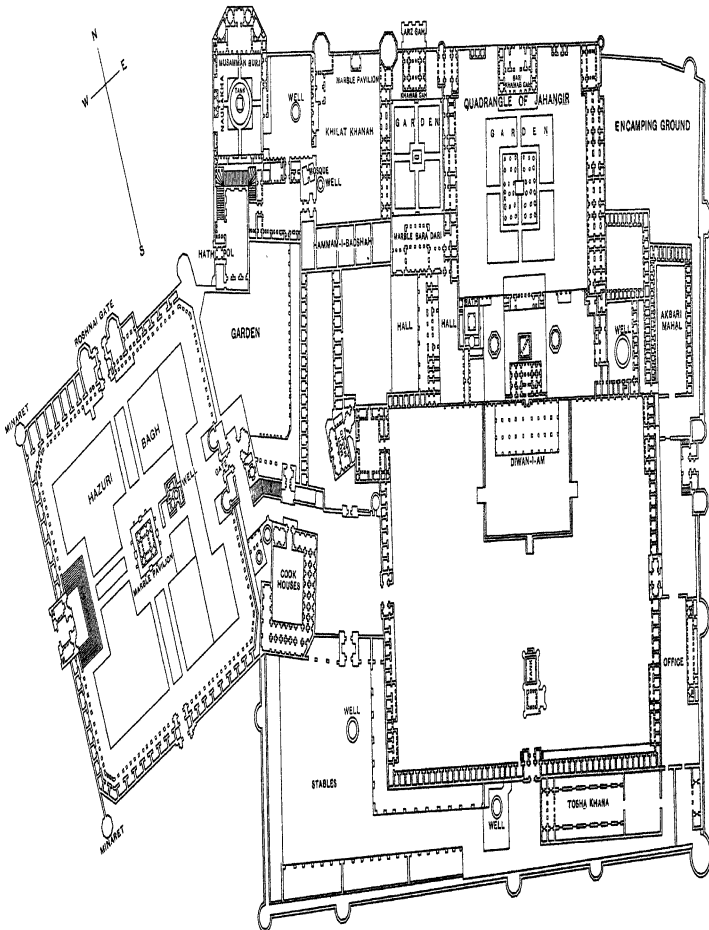
III. **The Chauburji.**—This gateway lies to the south of the tomb of Anarkali, on the Multan road. Though in a ruinous condition the remains are still of some beauty, the tile work being particularly fine. The gateway, which was built in 1646, is the entrance to a garden which has long since disappeared ; it belonged to Zeb-u-Nisa, the daughter of Aurangzeb. This princess was a poetess of some reputation, and of great learning. The upper part of the building has inscribed on it a passage from the Quran in letters of blue worked in porcelain ; over the arch are verses showing that this garden “in the pattern of the garden of Paradise ” was bestowed by Zeb-u-Nisa on Mian Bai, a favourite attendant. It was after this gift that the princess began to lay out another

and more extensive garden, reaching as far as Nawan Kot, where she lies buried.

IV. **The Fort.**—1. The Fort is usually approached by a road which leaves on the right front the Hazuri Bagh enclosure (built by Aurangzeb as a forecourt to his Badshahi Mosque)* and enters the Fort by a postern gate on the West. One fact must be remembered here ; the Ravi at one time ran close under the northern wall of the Fort. "This river," says Willam Finch, 1611, "cometh from the East and runneth Westerly by the North side of the Citie ; upon which within the Castle is the King's House, passing in at the middle gate to the Riverward." The Ravi was so close to the town that Aurangzeb built a three mile embankment to protect it, and thereby altered the river's course ; but pictures as late as 1854 show a small branch of the river still running under the Fort wall.

2. Some form of fortress may well have been built on this site in early Hindu times ; but, if so, no record or trace of it remains. As remarked at page 1, the Lahore of Hindu times was probably near Ichhra or Mozung, and the small Hindu *Manṭir* or

DE VOGEL'S PLAN IN JOURNAL PUNJAB
HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1911.



- ☐ Early Mughal Buildings
☐ Shah Jahan's Buildings

SCALE OF 100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500 FEET

shrine in the Hazuri Bagh, attributed to Loh, the titular founder of Lahore, seems to date back no farther than the period of the Sikhs. The original of the Fort was no doubt erected by the Viceroys of the Ghaznavid princes (page 5) ; the Fort as we now see it was the work of Akbar, continued by Jehangir and completed by Shah Jehán. The only contribution of Aurangzeb was the Hazuri Bagh gateway, intended as an entrance to the forecourt of the Badshahi Mosque. Designed and executed by different hands it never possessed the unity of composition which distinguishes the forts of Agra and Delhi ; nor indeed (as Bernier remarks) did it ever actually rival them in importance or magnificence. Neglected after the death of Aurangzeb and the transfer of the Court to Delhi, the Palace buildings must have fallen into disrepair ; it was left to the Sikhs and the British Military Works Department to convert neglect into ruin. Of the two, the Sikhs were the less flagrant vandals. They added some buildings and adapted others ; but Ranjit Singh showed some respect for the State rooms of his Imperial predecessors, and if his ideas of art were barbaric, his intention here was clearly to embellish rather than to destroy. The

Military Works, whose occupation began in 1849, wrought havoc without scruple; their additions were abominable; their adaptations were iniquitous. Lord Curzon rescued the Moti Masjid and the small Khwábgháh of Jehangir in 1903; but it was not until 1924 that the Fort, given up by the military authorities, came into the hands of the Archæological Department. The worst of the Military accretions will be removed; what remains of the Moghul buildings will be invested with decency and order; but it must be left to the imagination to realize the former magnificence of the “*faire castle, with the King’s apartments, verie sumptuous*” which William Finch described in 1611.

3. To realize the general scheme of the buildings, the visitor had best proceed at once up the sloping ramp—a British innovation—and so arrive at the open space in the centre of the Fort. Standing there with his back to the City, he will be facing the Diwan-i-Am or forty pillared hall of Shah Jehán; immediately behind this building is the quadrangle of Jehangir; to the left front is the Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque, and behind that again the Shah Burj or Royal Tower and

State rooms of Shah Jehán. The visitor is at the moment standing on the site of a great quadrangle, 730 by 460 feet, which faced the Diwan-i-Am, and was enclosed on four sides by a range of vaulted chambers ; of this cloister, probably built in Akbar's time, nothing now remains except the little Court in front of the Moti Masjid. The cloister is shown on a Sikh map, and was demolished by the British.

4. He may now proceed to the Diwan-i-Am, the Hall of public audience, erected by Shah Jehán in the first year of his reign (1628) at the same time as a similar edifice in the Agra Fort. During the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir the courtiers who attended the daily public audience were (according to the Court chronicler, Mulla Abdul Hamid of Lahore) protected against rain and sunshine only by means of an awning. Shah Jehán ordered that a hall of forty pillars should be built in front of the Jharoka or Balcony (now to be seen in centre of the Diwan-i-Am) on which the Emperor made his daily public appearance. It is disappointing to find that the whole superstructure, as well as the pavement is modern, whilst the red sandstone shafts do not fit on the carved bases. Yet an

interesting feature is preserved in the remnants of a white marble railing which once connected the outer row of pillars. The large platform on which the hall is raised was enclosed by a second railing of red sandstone of which a large part is still extant. All travellers who witnessed the daily court of the Great Mogul refer to these railings, which separated the different classes of nobles in attendance. The Venetian Manucci, in his *Storia do Mogor*, describes at length a reception given here by Dara Shikoh, and Finch's narrative gives many details of the ceremony observed in 1611. Fra Sabastian Manrique describes the splendid Nauroz festival given here in 1641. Ranjit Singh, though he used the Diwan-i-Am, never seated himself on the Imperial throne, out of respect for the ancient rulers ; it is clear from Honigberger's account that after the Maharaja's death his body lay here in state. After the British occupation the building was converted into a barrack ; the outer archways were bricked up and the front enclosed within a verandah. These structures have been removed, but the Diwan-i-Am is now only a skeleton of the Imperial hall of Shah Jehán in the days of

its splendour, when the descendant of Timur sat on the marble throne, and the halls adjoining the courtyard, hung with banners and tapestry, were thronged with Amirs and Rajas in rich attire. It is fortunate that the Jharoka or State balcony is still in a fair state of preservation. This actually belonged to Jehangir's palace, which, as already shown, lay immediately behind the Diwan-i-Am. Its red sandstone bracket shows the Hindu influence, which was still strong in the early Moghul period.

5. The Jharoka abuts from the back of a rectangular building of twelve small rooms, in which the painting on the roof apparently dates from Sikh times ; it was here that Chet Singh was murdered in 1839 (page 57).

6. From the other side of this building one looks out on Jehangir's quadrangle. The buildings at the sides of the quadrangle still show the broad eaves and heavily carved bracketting of Hindu origin which characterized Jehangir's architecture. The quadrangle, which has suffered greatly from successive demolitions, once contained a palace garden, and Jehangir himself writes with rapture of this garden and the

buildings which enclosed it. " Without ceremony I may say that these are delightful buildings and charming abodes, fine and faultless, all painted and sculptured and embellished by the labour of rare masters. The smiling green gardens with various kinds of flowers and sweet scents are eye-captivating " (1620). An inscription dated 1617 (to be found in the court of the Moti Masjid) records the completion of the quadrangle by Mamur Khan, in the 12th year of the reign of Jehangir " the Shadow of God, a Solomon in dignity, an Alexander in arms, the asylum of the Khalifate, the champion of the Faith. " Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, notices Jehangir's fondness for pictures and his pride in his court painters; William Finch describes in detail the many mural pictures he saw in this building in 1611, including one of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Leopold von Orlich, the German traveller, saw in 1843 a fête given in the garden of this court during the short reign of Sher Singh ; the garden then contained a square marble reservoir with numerous fountains, in the centre of which stood a colossal silver peacock with outspread tail. This must have been removed in British times. At

the further end of the quadrangle, towards the river front, is a building known as the Bari Khwábgháh or large sleeping place, to distinguish it from the small Khwábgháh of Shah Jehan. The present building is of Sikh construction, but probably took the place of the Private Audience Hall or Diwân Khânâh of Jehangir, curiously disguised as the "Devonkawn" in Sir Thomas Herbert's narrative of 1638. Other buildings now at the river end of the quadrangle, such as the Pavilion, are ascribed to Sher Singh.

7. Turning now to the left, or western side, we come to a second group of buildings due to Jehangir's son Shah Jehán. There is here less of the Hindu influence than in Jehangir's quadrangle, more of the marble inlaid with precious stones which Shah Jehán's greater magnificence employed. The first point of interest is a small court containing a formal garden; on the marble platform in the centre there stood in Sikh times a pavilion (*báradari*) of gilt silver, which is said to have been sold by auction in 1849; the white marble on the pathways was taken for the Church at Mian Mir. To the north or river front side of the garden is the Chhoti Khwábgháh or

sleeping room, probably one of the two buildings built by Shah Jehân in 1633. It is an open pavilion of white marble, the archways on the north side carrying pierced screens. The roof has a parapet with a border of *pietra dura* ; the fountain basin in the interior was once inlaid with semi-precious stones. After annexation the building was used as a Church ; it was sought to make it more acceptable to the Lord by filling the pierced screens and fountain basin with concrete. The building was restored at the instance of Lord Curzon in 1903. Opposite the Khwâbgâh, on the south of the Court, is a building with a marble facade, much injured, of which the former use is unknown.

8. Proceeding still by the left, one comes to a court called in the Sikh times the Khilat Khânah, which shows that at this period at least it was used for the bestowing of robes of honour on distinguished nobles. On the south of this court were the royal baths, very inferior to those at Delhi ; on the south-west was the private mosque of the court ladies, now to be found only by the prayer niche (*mirab*) in the west wall ; there is also a later building erected by Rani Chand Kaur, who was

here murdered at the instigation of Dhian Singh and Sher Singh (page 58). Her brains were dashed out with bricks by her maid servants while she slept.

9. Before proceeding further it will be convenient to turn to the south, behind the royal baths, and visit the Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque. There is no record to show whether it belonged to the palace buildings of Akbar, Jehangir or Shah Jehán ; but judging from its position at the north-west corner of Akbar's great quadrangle, it is possible that it was built by him. If so, it is earlier than Shah Jehán's pearl mosque at Agra, that of Aurangzeb in the Delhi fort, or that of Shah Alam at Mihrauli (Old Delhi). Like the others it was built of white marble and has suffered little of its original freshness. It was used as a Government Treasury both by Ranjit Singh and the British ; its doorway was bricked up, and a vault dug beneath the marble floor. "Ranjit Singh," said Lord Curzon in 1900, "cared little for the taste of his Muslim predecessors, and half a century of British Military occupation, with its universal paint pot, and the exigencies of the Public Works Engineer, has assisted the melancholy

decline. " He had the mosque restored in 1902-03.

10. Returning now to the Khilat Khánáh Court (paragraph 8) we pass on the left to a smaller court with a marble pavilion on the north-west dating from the reign of Ranjit Singh, and used by him as a court of justice. The frescoes on the walls, though recent, are interesting, and are clearly the work of one of Ranjit Singh's court painters. They portray scenes in the life of Krishna, who in one is celebrating the Holi festival, and in another appears swinging with his attendant cow-maidens.

11. We have now reached the last Court on the north-west, known by the name of the Masamman Burj or octagonal tower. This name (abbreviated into Saman Burj, whence the guide books get what is a correct enough translation, but an absurd title, namely, the "Jasmin Tower") dates only from Sikh times; when constructed by Shah Jehán the building was known as the Shah Burj (Royal Tower, or as Manucci transliterated it, "the Xaaburg.") An inscription over the Hâthi Pol or elephant gate (see page 89 below) refers to the

completion in 1631-32 of this Tower, which, as it says —

“for its immense height
Is like the Divine Throne beyond imagination
and conception.
In purity, height, elegance and airiness, such
a tower
Has never appeared from the castle of the sky,
nor will.”

Manucci shows that the building in his time had “architectural adornment of curious enamel work, with many precious stones. It is here that the king holds audiences for selected persons, and from it he views the elephant fights and diverts himself with them.” The little building on the right was used by Ranjit Singh as a pay office for his troops, as shown in the Hon. Charles Hardinge’s picture of 1847. On the north side of the square is the semi-octagonal Shish Mahall or Palace of Mirrors. The glass decoration dates from two periods; the ceiling is part of the original edifice, and is described by Abdul-Hamid as made of “Aleppo glass”; the inferior wall decoration dates from the Sikh period, as does also the wall painting. Part of the original decoration, again, is seen in the *pietra dura* work in the spandrels over the

arches, which has by miracle escaped the hand of the vandals. The roof is encumbered by a medley of structures of the Sikh period. It was in the Shísh Mahall that the treaty of Lahore was ratified by Lord Hardinge in 1846 (page 62) and that in March 1849 the sovereignty of the Punjab was assumed by the British Government (page 63). Next to the Shísh Mahall, on the west side, is an open pavilion known as the Naulakha, because it is said to have cost nine lakhs of rupees ; it is described by the court historian as “a pavilion of marble, with mosaics of cornelian, coral and other precious stones.” The *pietra dura* decoration of the marble dado is entirely in the style of the early period of Shah Jehán ; but the inlay in the panels above the dado is of a very different type and from its resemblance to work found in the Golden Temple at Amritsar appears to date from the days of Ranjit Singh. On the south side of the court is a building, which probably took the place of the Khwábgháh rebuilt by Shah Jehán, and now contains an armoury with an interesting collection of weapons mainly of the Sikh period. On the whole, the buildings of the Shah Burj suffered less than others during the Sikh rule ; it was the favourite residence

of Ranjit Singh, which would perhaps account for the fountains on the top. Fortunately also it suffered less than other buildings from the British military occupation.

12. Coming back to the court next to the Shish Mahall, the visitor will find a flight of steps leading downwards past a series of rooms formerly occupied by the royal ladies, to the highly decorated Hâthi Pol or Elephant Gate, which formed a private entrance to the royal apartments, and he can now view the tile decoration which covers the curtain wall adjoining the Hâthi Pol. The history of Indian tile decoration, as Dr. Vogel has shown, is a fascinating study, in which the decorations of the Lahore Fort occupy an important place. The use of tiles did not originate in India, and it was not until the Muhammadan period that it became general; even then tile decoration was employed almost exclusively on buildings erected by the followers of Islam. It clearly came to India from Persia, though some have found traces of a Chinese influence, particularly in the introduction of the conventional Chinese cloud and dragon. (Some of these will be found in the spandrels under Jehangir's Bari

Khwábgáh). Babar himself refers to this influence in his description of the buildings of Samarkand. " There is here a State pavilion the walls of which are overlaid with porcelain of China, whence it is called the China house. " The tradition is probably correct ; though as regards the dragon, the picture is perhaps in some cases that of the fabulous bird Sîmurgh, common to both Persian and Perso-Indian art. The tile work of India belongs to five periods ; the earliest is seen in the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam of Multan (about 1350) ; a second stage is that of the Delhi buildings dating about 1500, such as the tomb of Sikandar Lodi and the Jamali-Kamali mosque at Old Delhi ; there is a later development in the mosques and tombs of the Pathan period, as for instance the Purana Kila at Delhi, the Khairu-l-Manázil close to it, and the tomb of Nizam-udin, all of the late 16th century. The tiles of Lahore are of the 17th century and are of a richer and more elaborate type. They are best seen in the work on this part of the fort, in the Mosques of Wazir Khan and Dai Anga, in the Chauburji gateway of Zeb-u-Nissa, and the tombs of Asaf Khan and Ali Mardan. We find here both the faience and the square tile type of decora-

tion. The exact date of the work in the Lahore Fort is not known ; it is not described by Finch (1611) or Sir Thomas Herbert who copied him ; but Dr. Vogel's close study seems to show that it dates from the end of Jehangir's reign and the first years of that of Shah Jehân.

13. The Sikhs have left their stamp on this portion of the pictured wall, for apart from openings made for loopholes, there are many bullét marks still to be seen. These are due to the two bombardments described on pages 58 and 59 ; Von Orlich, who visited the Fort in 1843, noticed everywhere traces of the destruction caused by the artillery on the occasion of Sher Singh's accession. For the rest, the panels of greatest interest are perhaps those showing the elephant fights in which the Moghuls delighted, and the panel showing four horsemen playing at *Chaugan* or Polo. One of the former is believed to represent the famous fight in which Aurangzeb withstood the fierce elephant Sidhkar, which deserted his antagonist and attacked the prince. The scene is a favourite subject of the Moghul court painters. Aurangzeb's gallantry so moved his father Shah Jehân that "the God-fearing monarch first drew into his loving

embrace that newly grown plant in the garden of sovereignty, the prince Aurangzeb, and by the kiss of affection conferred the adornment of felicity, and exalted that one of lofty disposition with gifts of robes of honour and the title of Bahadur."

V. Government House.—Government House is built round the tomb of Mahomad Kasim Khan, a cousin of Akbar, who died at Lahore in the reign of Shah Jehán. The tomb must date, therefore, somewhere about 1635. Kasim Khan was a great patron of wrestlers, for whom he built a mosque, and after his death the tomb was known as the "Wrestlers' dome." In Ranjit Singh's reign Sardar Ram Singh, the son of the famous Jemadar Khushal Singh, built rooms round it in an octagonal form.* The house was after Annexation occupied first by Major Macgregor, Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, and then by Sir Henry Lawrence; Sir John Lawrence built himself a house on the Multan Road. It was first utilized as Government

* This is the account given by the son of a member of the family who was with Ram Singh at the time. Khushal Singh was a Gaur Brahman adventurer from Meerut, who rose to high favour with Ranjit Singh, till he was ousted by Dhian Singh (page 57). Ram Singh had a command of troops and died in 1839. Tej Singh, nephew of Khushal Singh, also served Ranjit and was subsequently the very ineffective Commander-in-Chief during the first Sikh War. Loyal to the British in the second Sikh War, he became the founder of the family of the Rajas of Sheikopura.

House by Sir Robert Montgomery. The main block was rebuilt about 1863; the side wings were added at a much later date.

VI. **Ranjit Singh's Mausoleum.**—The building lies opposite the Fort entrance, to the west; it was commenced by Kharak Singh, but not finished until the reign of Dalip Singh. It is a mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan styles and architecture, and in no great taste. The front of the doorway has images of Ganesh, Devi and Brahma; the carved lotus flower in the central vault covers the ashes of the Maharaja, the smaller flowers are in memory of the four wives and seven slave girls who were burnt on the funeral pyre. Two knobs are in honour of the pigeons which during the cremation fell into the mass of flames. Two small domed buildings on the further side are the memorials of Kharak Singh (page 56) and Naunihal Singh, the grandson of the Maharaja (page 59). Close by is the shrine of Arjan Mal, the fifth Sikh Guru (page 17).

VII. **Shahdara.**—(Mausolea of Jehangir, Asaf Khan and Núr Jehán).

1. *The tomb of Jehangir* is perhaps the chief architectural pride of Lahore. If not the equal of Shah Jehán's Taj Mahal, it must

rank with Humayun's tomb at Delhi as one of the great relics of the best Moghul period. The circumstances of Jehangir's death have been given at page 18; the mausoleum was completed by his son, Shah Jehân, some years after his accession in 1628.

2. It is approached through a great quarangle occupying some 12 acres of ground, which we are accustomed to call the Serai; but early historians describe it as the forecourt of the mausoleum enclosure, and it was here no doubt that those who came to visit the Emperor's tomb would leave their equipages when they came on foot into the walled garden containing the tomb itself. That it was called the Serai may be held with charity to account for the scant respect with which it has been treated; it was once used as the engine yard and depôt of the Railway, and proposals for its demolition actually received the sanction of Government. It was rescued from base uses about 1907, and has now been put in proper order. It has on the west a large mosque, with three good domes.

3. The mausoleum itself lies in a walled garden of nearly sixty acres in extent, traversed by four bricked water

channels. It stands on a raised plinth of red sandstone some 275 feet square. Round the mausoleum runs an arcaded verandah, on to which open a number of cells for readers of the Quran and other attendants. The tombpiece of the Emperor is within; on two sides are carved the ninety-nine attributes of God; on the top and foot are prayers to the Deity; at the foot is recorded that this is "the illuminated resting place of His Majesty, the asylum of pardon, Nur-ud-din Jehangir Badshah." The coloured inlay on the pedestal is of particular merit.

4. Two staircases lead up to a flat roof some 200 feet square, with a tessellated pavement; at each corner is a minaret four storeys high, inlaid with bands of variegated marbles and blocks of yellow stone, with marble cupolas on the top. These are some 85 feet in height from the plinth. In the centre of the roof is a low *Chabutra* or platform.

5. This low platform has given rise to a question of acute archæological interest—was there at any date an upper dome over the roof of the tomb chamber? Tradition, though tradition is in India no very certain guide, is strong on the existence of a dome.

The traveller Moorcroft, writing in 1820, says that the dome was believed to have been taken off by Aurangzeb "that his grandfather's tomb might be exposed to the weather, as a mark of his reprobation of the loose morals of Jehangir." Alexander Burnes in 1831 and Von Orlich in 1843 attributed its removal to Bahadur Shah; in their case the motive assumed was merely a desire that "the rain and dew might fall on the tomb of the Emperor's ancestor." Later writers give other versions both of the date of the removal and its reason; the most interesting is the story that Ranjit Singh transferred the dome bodily to his *báradari* in the Hazuri Bagh. As to this, it is perhaps sufficient to say that though there is good evidence of pilfering by Ranjit Singh from the tomb of Jehangir (as in Lt. Barr's account of 1839) the story of the removal of the dome was not known till about 1880.

6. There is little of documented evidence to support these traditions. We know from Niccolao Manucci (always inclined to malice) that Aurangzeb did offer some indignity to the tomb; but he merely states that the Emperor removed some of the precious stones. It is indeed more

than probable that the whole tradition is connected, somewhat obscurely, with the account given by an historian whose date gives his evidence real value. Mahomad Salih was a literary man, much interested in architecture, who held a post in the Lahore Court and died in 1674; he must frequently have visited the tomb. He says that the Emperor "had directed in his will that his resting place should be devoid of structural decorations, and that they should commit his body to the mercy of God in an open place, so that it might ever commerce unimpeded with the clouds of God's infinite compassion; so verily his successor, acting on his will, constructed round his sleeping place a lofty *Takhtgâh* measuring 100 zirâ by 100 of hewn red stone carved. On the top of that he placed a *Chabûtra* of marble, twenty by twenty, decorated with *Parchînkâri* which is finer than *Khâtambandi*." That passage would solve the problem, if there were certainty as to its exact meaning. The measurement of the *Takhtgâh* corresponds to that of the plinth holding the main building; the measurement of the *Chabûtra* corresponds closely enough with that of the low platform on the roof; but the interpretation of the rest is

doubtful. Sir J. P. Thompson, who has examined the whole question with minute and scholarly care, believes that what Mahomad Salih indicated was a closed roof, surmounted by a *Chabútra*, with a "false tomb" on it, exposed to the air, and surrounded by a screen. The structural features of the chamber and the *Chabútra* offer no clear opposition to this view ; there is nothing contrary to sentiment or practice* in building a "false tomb" above the real burial place ; and so far, this view seems to hold the field.

7. The building suffered much from the hands of one of the Bhangi triumvirate, Lahna Singh (page 39) ; and much of the trellis-work and marble was removed by Ranjit Singh for the temple at Amritsar. He gave the tomb as a residence to M. Amise, one of his French officers, who started to put it in order, but died soon after ; it was subsequently occupied by an Afghan Sirdar who did much to injure it by kindling fires in the halls and removing stones of value. The Hon. Charles Hardinge's painting of 1847 shows the desolation of its surroundings at that date. It has

* Akbar's tomb at Sikandra has a second tombpiece on the upper storey.

been as far as possible restored by Government, which has allowed the hereditary guardians of the tomb, established there by Shah Jehán, to resume their attendance on it.

8. *Asaf Khan's Mausoleum* lies to the west of the so-called Serai of Jehangir, enclosed by walls of solid masonry. Asaf Khan was the brother of Nur Jehán,* wife of Jehangir, and the father of Arjamand Bano Begum or Mumtaz Mahal, the favourite wife of Shah Jehán. The family had a romantic history. Asaf Khan and Núr Jehán were the children of Ghias Beg, an Uzbek Tartar noble of Teheran. Reduced to poverty, he set out to seek his fortunes in Hindustan; Núr Jehán was born on the roadside near Kandahar. Ghias Beg obtained employment at Akbar's court, and rose to the post of Treasurer and then to that of Wazir and the title of Itimád-ud-Daula. While he was at the Court, his daughter Núr Jehán captivated the fancy of Jehangir, but it was not until the prince succeeded to the throne that he could dispose of Ali Kuli Beg, the Turkoman noble to

*Her name was Mihr-ul-nissa; when she became the wife of Jehangir she was known first as Núr Mahal (light of the *harem*) and afterwards as Núr Jehán (light of the world).

whom she had been affianced, and whom Akbar insisted on her marrying. The many attempts made by Jehangir to secure his death, and the incredible courage with which he met them, before he was finally assassinated at Burdwan, form a favourite subject of Muslim romance. Ghias Beg died at Kangra in 1621 ; and his daughter, whom Jehangir had married in 1611, erected over his body the great tomb known by his title of Itimád-ud-Daula, on the bank of the Jumna near Agra. He was, by Jehangir's account, a jovial easy man, who " liked bribes, and freely and without reserve asked for them. " Núr Jehán had an influence without parallel in Moghul history over the life of Jehangir. " I have," he writes himself, " made over my kingdom to Núr Jehán ; for myself I want nothing more than a pound of meat and two pints of wine. " The English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, has much to say of her power in the kingdom. Coins were struck in her name ; she held public audience from the Jharoka of her palace ; withal she was a woman of courage and judgment, skilled in field sports, and a poetess of some reputation. Her brother Asaf Khan was speedily advanced by Jehangir, and in 1627 he became Viceroy of Lahore.

He built there "the magnificent palace gorgeously decorated by paintings," which was visited by Sebastian Manrique in 1638. He died in 1633, leaving property valued at twenty-five millions of rupees. His tomb was built by Shah Jehán, and early writers speak not only of its costly inlay work but of the glory of its tiled decorations. Some of these still remain ; but the tomb was, like many others, rifled by Ranjit Singh to build his *báradari* in the Hazuri Bagh.

9. *Núr Jehán's tomb*.—The tomb of Núr Jehán, who died in 1638, at the age of seventy-two, is near the mausoleum of Jehangir. It is said to have resembled that of Asaf Khan, but is now only a plain building of one storey. The marble tombpiece has been removed ; and it is said that when Ranjit Singh stripped the building of its ornamental stones, he caused the sepulchre below the tombpiece to be opened. There were found two coffins on iron swings, those of Núr Jehán and her daughter, by Ali Kuli Khan, named Ladli Begum. These were buried, and the sepulchre left open to the air.

VIII. **Shalamar Garden**.—1. The Shalamar Garden was made in 1633 by the order of Shah Jehán, to celebrate the arrival of the

water from the Canal which his Wazir, Ali Mardan, had made in order to bring irrigation from the Ravi to the city see page 21). At the Emperor's first visit to the garden, says a contemporary historian, "multitudes of intelligent and wise men who were present before His Majesty, and who had seen Rûm, Irák and Mawar-un-Nahar, represented to him that a garden such as this had never been constructed or seen or even talked of by anybody." In point of fact, it was built on the model of the Shalamar Garden at Srinagar. By tradition the garden was originally divided into seven divisions representing the seven degrees of the Paradise of Islam, and of these three only are said to be included in the present area. The tradition rests on no certain ground ; it possibly is based on the fact that the Bâgh was surrounded by a number of other gardens of the Moghul nobility ; while across the Amritsar road were the palaces of the royal ladies known as the Khawáspura.

2. The garden had two gateways on the East and West ; these are now disused,* and the entrance is from the Amritsar road by a gateway opened early in the

* They show the remains of some good tile work of the type described on page 106.

British period. This gateway seems to have been part of the Khawáspura buildings, for the marble fountain basin makes it clear that it was not originally a gateway. The Bágħ itself was a residence as well as a garden. "So many edifices," says the court historian, "were constructed in this garden, that whenever it pleases the Emperor to pay a visit to it with the Royal Harem, who remain with him at Lahore, the necessity of pitching tents is avoided." The first portion which the visitor enters was known as the Farah Buksh; it was reserved for the Royal ladies, and between this and the second terrace was a marble screen, guarded by Armenian and Tartar soldiers. To pass this was death. At the end of this terrace is a marble pavilion (Báradari); beyond this again is the second division of the garden, known as Faiz Buksh, containing two terraces. Here the King gave audience to the princes and nobles. On the eastern side of the first terrace are the Royal Baths, with reservoirs which can be heated by fire; to the west was the sleeping apartment of Shah Jehán. The 450 fountains were served by two wells of unusual size, worked by twelve Persian wheels; one of

these, to the west of the Khwábgháh, still exists.

3. The garden fell into disuse after the reign of Shah Jehán ; by the time of Ranjit Singh, the reservoirs had been filled with earth, and the whole garden was ploughed up. An agate cistern in the Khwábgháh had been sold by the Bhangi governors of Lahore (page 39). The garden was restored by Ranjit Singh, who did not, however, scruple to carry off the marbles of the central terraces to embellish the temple at Amritsar.

4. The chroniclers do not indicate clearly the date at which the garden came to be called by its present designation. In the history of the time of Shah Alam, the successor of Aurangzeb, the garden is called "Farah Bakhsh," and the first mention of the present name is in the works of the historians of Nadir Shah (page 31), where the name takes the form of Shálá Mah. The meaning is doubtful. It was at one time explained as derived from two Turki words said to mean "place of pleasure." Other explanations are that it represents "Hall of desire" (Shal-i-mar) or "Royal edifice" (Shahi-imarát) ; but these are purely conjectural. Another conjecture is

Sho'lah mah, Persian for the "light of the moon," and has this in its favour, that in Kashmir the name of the garden is spelt without a final "r". There is a record in the chronicles of Ranjit Singh, that the King, unable to obtain from any of his courtiers a satisfactory explanation of the name, renamed it "*Shahla Bagh*" (meaning in Persian "the sweetheart's garden"), and that name is still used by villagers in the neighbourhood.

IX. The Sonehri or Golden Mosque.—This mosque, so called from the gilt with which its three domes are covered, lies within the city. It was built in 1753 A. D. by Nawab Syad Bhikari Khan, Deputy Governor of Lahore, under the Emperor Muhammad Shah. The building is of considerable grace, but suffered severely in the days of the Sikh régime. Most of the land and property given as an endowment was seized and the mosque itself put to other uses. Under British rule it was restored to its proper use.

X. Wazir Khan's Mosque.—1. The mosque of Wazir Khan is important not only because it is the largest mosque within the city, but because of its contribu-

tion to the tile decorations of the period of Shah Jehán. Wazir Khan was the title taken in later life by Sheikh Ilm-u-din, born in Chiniot in the Jhang district. Educated in medicine at Delhi, he was employed in the household of Shah Jehán when he was still Prince Khurram ; he was afterwards raised by the Emperor to the dignity of Viceroy of the Punjab. He founded the mosque in 1634, endowing it with certain shops and lands for its support. " The legacy is valid, binding, certain and imperative ; under no circumstances shall those lands become the property of anyone until the day when God shall assume heritage of all lands, for he is best of inheritors. " The sanctity of his trust has been ill observed by the human beneficiaries.

2. The mosque is in the Perso-Moghul style ; the *minars*, some hundred feet in height, are of particular grace. But the chief virtue of the building lies in its decorative tile work which is, as Lockwood Kipling observed, a school of art in itself. The brick walls were originally covered with a fine *chunam* plaster, which must have formed a far better setting to the tile work than the brick surface now exposed.

The tiles afford many examples of the technique employed in the later period of tile decoration, in which different colours were cut to shape, in the manner of the coloured glass in a stained glass window, and then embedded in a matrix of mortar. The art was practised in Lahore up to about 1878, by a workman who died without imparting his skill to a successor.

XI. The Zamzama Gun.—The Zamzama gun now stands on the Mall opposite the Museum. It was cast in 1757 by order of Ahmad Shah, a brass or copper vessel being taken from each Hindu house in Lahore to provide the metal. He used it in the battle of Panipat (1761). It was captured by the Bhangis when they sacked one of the suburbs of Lahore in 1762; it was captured from them in 1772 by the Chhattas who took it to Rasalnagar. Once again recovered by the Bhangis, it was taken at Amritsar by Ranjit in 1802 and used in his Multan campaign, where it was rendered unfit for further use and brought back to Lahore (1818). The name means "Hummer," but is also used for a lion's roar. The gun from its size, was long regarded among the contesting Sikh

Sardars as an emblem of sovereignty. An inscription on it relates how Ahmad Shah ordered the casting of a gun "terrible as a dragon and huge as a mountain," and describes how there was finally made "this wondrous gun Zamzama, a destroyer even of the strongholds of heaven."

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